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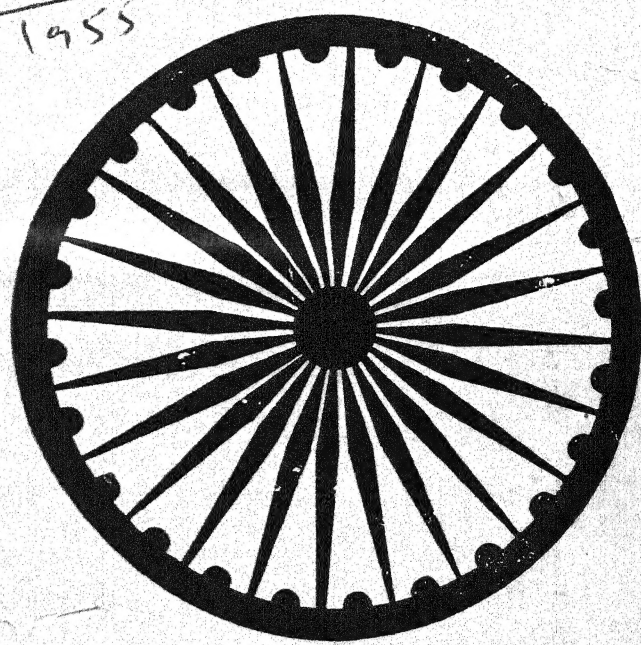
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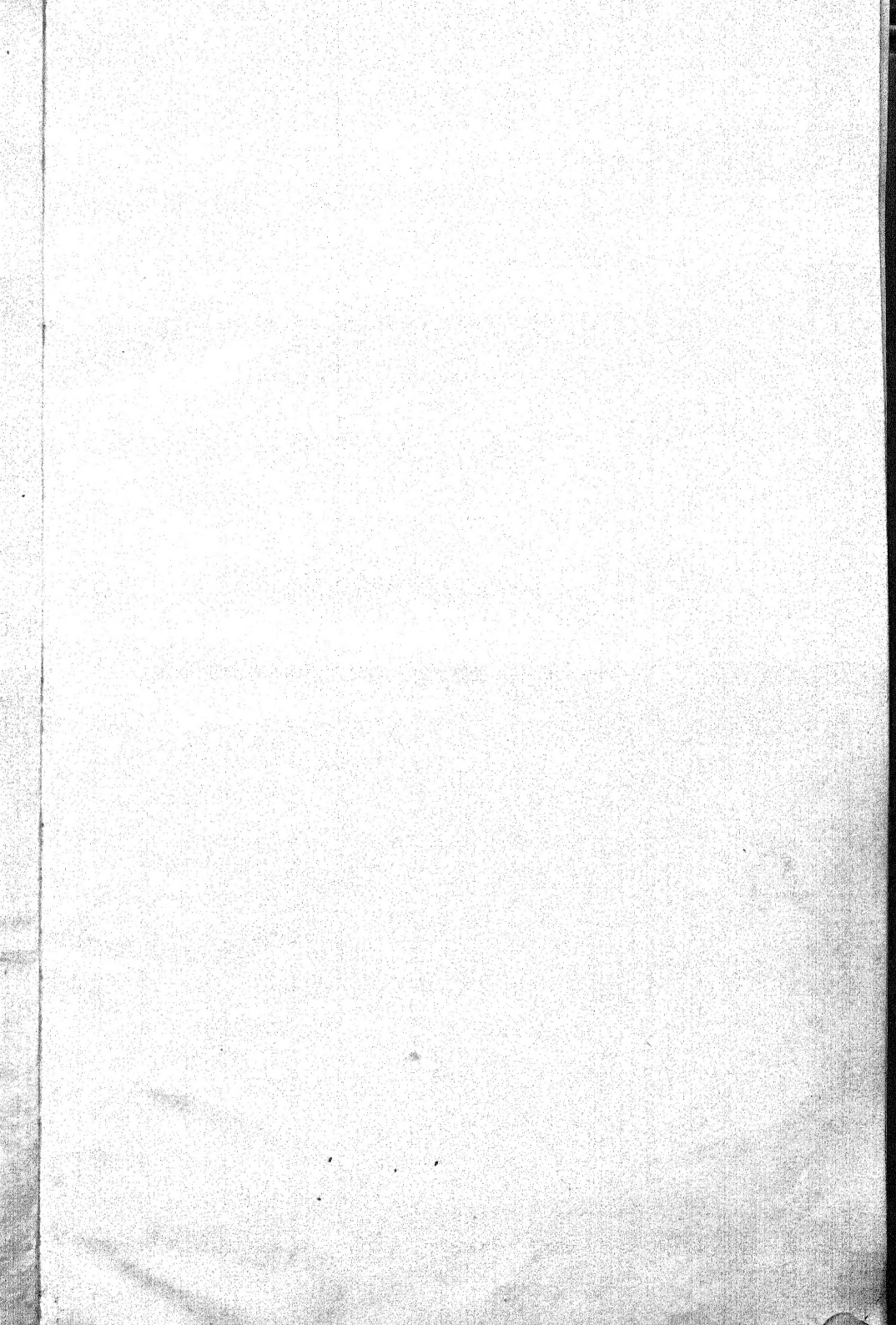
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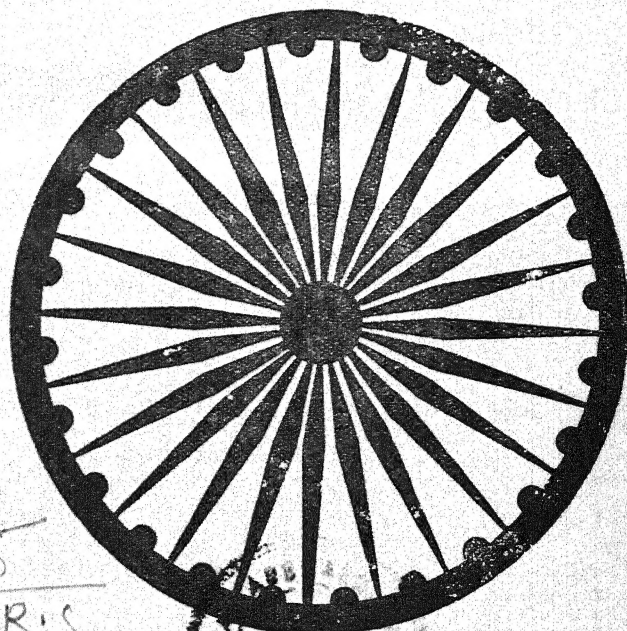
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Jaynagar Image Inscription

Handwritten inscription in Devanagari script, likely a Jain text, inscribed on a rectangular stone plate. The text is arranged in approximately 10 horizontal lines. The script is a form of Devanagari, possibly from the 12th or 13th century, and is carved into the surface of the stone. The plate is mounted on a dark background.



Jaynagar Image Inscription

THE JOURNAL OF THE BIHAR RESEARCH SOCIETY

VOL. XLI }

JUNE, 1955

{ PART 2

JAYNAGAR IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF YEAR 35

By

Dr. D. C. Sircar.

The small village of Jaynagar (also called Kawāyā-Jaynagar) near the Luckeesarai (Lakhīsarāi) railway station on the river Kiul in the western part of the Monghyr District, Bihar, was visited by Cunningham about the beginning of the seventh decade of the last century. There is a small note on what he noticed in the village in his *A. S. I. Report for the year 1871-72*, Vol. III, 1873, pp. 159-60. This note does not speak of any inscribed image or stone slab that the author examined at Jaynagar. But Plate XLV accompanying the work contains eye-copies of no less than three inscriptions (Nos. 17, 33 and 34) stated to have been found in that village. At p. 125 of the same work, only one (No. 17) of the three Jaynagar inscriptions has been referred to, although "Jaynagar near Lakhīsarāi" has been placed here under Gayā apparently through confusion. For a long time, the original of Cunningham's Jaynagar inscription No. 33 remained untraced and no attempt was made to read the epigraph from the published eye-copy which, it may be pointed out, is as a whole really undecipherable.

More than half a century after the publication of Cunningham's work, a facsimile of his Jaynagar inscription No. 33 appeared in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Vol. XIV, 1928, as one of the illustrations accompanying R.D.

Banerji's lengthy paper entitled "Pāla Chronology".¹ As to the source of the facsimile, Banerji says, "Dr. L.D. Barnett of the British Museum, writing to Professor Suniti Kumar Chatterjee ..., in June 1924, sent him three pencil rubbings of this inscription which he found in the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington (London), and asked him to have it deciphered by some of his colleagues. Professor Chatterjee was kind enough to entrust me with the work."² Banerji, however, succeeded in deciphering only the date portion of the record in lines 1-2. His reading of this part runs as follows: *Śrī-Gai(Gau)deś-[va]ra-Palapāla-pādānām saṁ 35 Cai[tra]-di 3*.³ The inscription was therefore assigned to the 35th regnal year of a Pāla king whose name was Palapāla and style *Gauḍeśvara*. Banerji ascribed Palapāla's rule to circa 1126-61 A.D. and placed him between Madanapāla (circa 1104-26 A.D. according to Banerji) and Govindapāla (circa 1161-99 A.D. according to Banerji).⁴ He seems to have believed that it was Govindapāla who was ousted from some parts of Bihār by the Turkish Musalmans under the leadership of Ikhtiyārudīn Muḥammad Baktiyār Khilji.

Banerji's reading of the date portion of the inscription under study was supported by several later writers on the subject. Thus D. R. Bhandarkar in his *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*⁵ quotes the passage as read by Banerji with the addition of the expression *Śrī-Champāyām* at the end of it. While writing on the Pālas in the *Dynastic History of Northern India*, H.C. Ray assigns Madanapāla to circa 1130-50 A.D. and Govindapāla to circa 1150-62 A.D. and observes, "Palapāla of the Jaynagar inscription may have reigned for a few years after Govindapāla."⁶ The learned writer apparently forgets that the said inscription is dated in the 35th regnal year of the king.

1. Op. cit., pp. 489-538.

2. Ibid., p. 492.

3. Ibid., p. 49b.

4. Ibid., p. 538.

5. See No. 1648.

6. Op. cit., pp. 172, 177.

R.C. Majumdar, however, was inclined to reject Banerji's reading of the date portion of the Jaynagar inscription. In the latest authoritative work on the early history of Eastern India, viz. *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, published by the University of Dacca, Majumdar assigns Madanapāla to circa 1140-55 A.D. and Govindapāla to circa 1155-62 A.D. and observes, "Some scholars have assumed the existence of another Pāla king named Palapāla. But the assumption is based upon very doubtful reading of an inscription and Palapāla cannot find any place in sober history until further evidence is forthcoming."¹ In a foot-note he further points out, "Mr. R.D. Banerji introduced this Pāla king on the strength of an inscription found at Jaynagar (*JBROS*, XIV, 496). The reading *Gauḍeśvara Palapāla* is, however, impossible even according to his own facsimile, unless we imagine that one letter (*ra*) was dropped by the engraver through mistake and another letter (*la*) was written in line 1 in two different ways, although separated by only one letter (*JBORS*, XV, 649; *IHQ*, VI, 164)."² In regard to these comments, it may be noticed that omission of *akṣaras* and representation of a letter in more than one form in a record even in the same line or passage are sometimes met with in Indian epigraphs. The *akṣara l* is known to have been written in the same line in two different forms in several medieval inscriptions from the region around Jaynagar.³

Some years ago I wrote to the authorities of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, for a few inked impressions of the Jaynagar inscription of Palapāla. Unfortunately I did not know its museum reference number and the record could not be traced then. Recently I came to learn that a plaster cast of the inscription lies in the possession of Professor D.D. Kosambi of the Tata Institute of Fundamental Research, Bombay.

1. *Op. cit.*, pp. 172, 177.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 172.

3. *JBRs*, Vol. XXXVII, Parts 3-4, 1951, Plate I, No. 1, line 1 of the epigraphic text. See also the Sanokhar inscription which is being published in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXX, Part III.

I also learnt that the cast was received from Dr. J. C. Irwin of the Victoria and Albert Museum and that the exhibit number of the inscription is 71-1880 I.S. (Indian Section). At once I wrote to Professor Kosambi for a loan of the cast and to Dr. Irwin for a few inked impressions of the epigraph. Professor Kosambi kindly complied with my request and the cast in his possession reached me about the close of October 1953. In reply to my letter, Dr. Irwin was also kind enough to send me another plaster cast of the inscription. This reached me about the middle of November 1953. I am extremely thankful to both Professor Kosambi and Dr. Irwin for their kindness. An examination of the plaster casts of the Jaynagar inscription showed that its facsimile published by Banerji is fairly satisfactory although Cunningham's eye-copy is defective.

Dr. Irwin was also very kind to send me a good photograph of the image bearing the inscription in question. On the back of the photograph was written : "71-1880 I.S.—Group, Black stone, carved in high relief with the four-armed divinity Siddhesvari (sic.) and other seated figures. Found at Monghyr, Bengal (sic)—12th or 13th century." The sculpture is a fine specimen of the plastic art of the age of the later Pālas. It represents the Devī with Child, whose worship, as shown by me elsewhere,¹ was popular in Bihar in the early medieval period. It is interesting to note that another image of the same goddess, but not exactly with the same attributes, was recently unearthed at Jaynagar. The pedestal of this image bears the following inscription in the Gaudīya characters of about the twelfth century A.D.

1 Siddham² deyadharmo=yam pravara-mahayāna-yāyinyā-
(ḥ*) paramōpāsi-

2 kâ-sau(śrī)-Santoṣa-vadhū-Maharokāyā yad=atra
puṇyam tad=bhavatv=iti ॥

1. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 138-39.

2. Expressed by symbol.

The record resembles some other early medieval Buddhist inscriptions from Bihar.

The Jaynagar inscription in the Victoria and Albert Museum contains only five lines of writing and covers a space measuring about 6 inches by 2·5 inches. There are only two *akṣaras* in the last line. The preservation of the letters, with the exception of a few here and there, is satisfactory. The characters belong to the Gaudīya class and the record may be assigned on palaeographical grounds to the twelfth century A.D. The language of the epigraph is corrupt Sanskrit. Its orthography exhibits not only errors and an influence of the local pronunciation but also extreme carelessness on the part of the scribe and the engraver, probably more of the former than of the latter. In all these respects, the inscription resembles several other records of the area and age in question, some of which have been recently published by myself.¹ But the distortion, owing to scribal errors, is more considerable in the present epigraph than in many other inscriptions of its type. This fact renders the interpretation of the record extremely difficult. As a matter of fact, the question here is not so much of decipherment as of emendation of the corrupt text so as to extract some satisfactory sense out of the passages.

The inscription begins with the usual variety of the *Siddham* symbol which is followed by the *akṣara śrī*. The next *akṣara* has to be read as *ge*, in which the vowel mark is of the *śiro-mātrā* type, although the record has usually employed medial *e* of the *prīṣṭha-mātrā* class. The indiscriminate use of both these forms of medial *e* is, however, noticed in many early medieval inscriptions and manuscripts. The vowel mark in *ge* looks exactly like the top member of medial *au* (of the Gaudīya or Bengali type) in *sau* (line 3). It is interesting to note that there are some instances in which medial *au* of the Bengali

1. See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 145 and Plate; *JBRS*, Vol. XXXVII, Parts 3-4, pp. 7ff. and Plate. etc.

type is represented by the same sign.¹ Thus the reading intended for this *ge* may be *gau* as in the cases referred to. The following *akṣara* has to be read as *ḍe* although *ḍ* in *haḍi* (line 4) has a slightly different form. Such difference in the forms of the same letter is, however, immaterial as *j* has also been written differently in *saumāja* (line 3) and *jadatra* (line 4), the letter in the latter case differing little from the number 5 in line 1. The following *akṣara* looks like *śva*, although it does not have the normal form of the conjunct as found in line 3. The abnormality in the form of *śva* has been caused by the fact that the engraver had first made the lower end of the right vertical of *ś* a little curved towards the right (without thinking of the subscript *v*) instead of keeping it straight (to have the subscript joined at its end towards the left) and later incised the subscript a little to the left of its proper place and raised its right vertical upwards. The same type of subscript *v* seems to have been used also in *mva* in line 4, although in this case the reading may be *m[vā]* as well. The reading of the three *akṣaras* following *śrī* is therefore *geḍeśva*, for which the intended reading may well have been *Gauḍeśvara*. It seems difficult to suggest any better emendation for the *akṣaras* in question. The omission of *ra* seems to be due to the fact that, owing to the upward extension of the right vertical of the subscript of *śva*, the right limb of its superscript created the impression of a separate letter.

The rest of line 1 together with the *akṣaras* at the beginning of the following line reads clearly *Palapāṇa-pādānām saṃ 35 Caie-dī 3*. In this passage, *Caie-dī* is a mistake for *Gaitra-dī* (i.e. *Gaitra-divase*), *tr*, short of its top *mātrā*, becoming *e* (cf. *tra* in line 4) in the script in question. The king's name is written as *Palapāṇa*. The second part of this name may suggest the word *pāṇi* (as in names like *Cakrapāṇi*), although it is much more probable that *ṇ* was written for *l* (which is

1. Cf. *pau* in the word *pautra* in lines 9 and 19 of the grant of Netṭa-bhañja Tribhuvanakalaśa (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII. pp. 277, note 8; 282, notes 5 and 12).

merely a *ṇ* endowed with a top *mātrā*) with the omission of the top *mātrā* exactly as in *e* for *tr* in *Caitra* referred to above. There are many instances of the confusion between *l* and *ṇ* in inscriptions of the early medieval period. Since the Pālas are known to have ruled in the area where the inscription was found and in the age to which it belongs, it is reasonable to suggest that the king mentioned in our inscription belonged to the Pāla dynasty and that his name ended in *pāla* as those of the other rulers of that royal family. It should, however, be admitted that the name *Palapāla* does not offer any satisfactory sense¹ and that, considering the nature of the inscription, it is difficult to rule out the possibility of a letter being dropped before or after *pa* or *la* in the name. But these grounds do not appear to be sufficient to lead us to the view that no Pāla king with a name like *Palapāla* ruled over parts of Bihār in the twelfth century. As the king mentioned in our inscription cannot be identified with any of the known members of the Pāla house, who flourished in the age of the record, it is necessary to consider when and where he could have ruled and what his relation with the latest Pālas could have been. In view of the evidence of the inscription under discussion, we do not think it reasonable to ignore *Palapāla* altogether. We are therefore inclined to agree with Banerji, at least tentatively until further evidence to the contrary is forthcoming, that the record bears the date : Caitra śudi 3 in the 35th regnal year of *Gaudeśvara Palapāla*.

The six *akṣaras* in line 2, following the date quoted above, read: *śrī-Campāyām 2 hū* (or *hna*). The intended reading appears to be *śrī-Campāyām=iha*. The next two *akṣaras* are *ūta* which are followed by what looks like *kvena*. The vowel mark in *kve* is a *śiro-mātrā*, although it is imperfectly formed or preserved. The *akṣara na* is damaged. *Ūtakva* appears to be a personal name and reminds us of the wellknown epic

1. But attention may be drawn to names like *Dommaṇapāla* (*Madommaṇapāla* according to some) in the Sundarban (Rakshaskhali) plate (*Ind. Cult.*, Vol. I, pp. 679 ff., etc.)

name *Utaṅka*. The last two *akṣaras* of line 2 and the first six of the next line (line 3) are clearly *bhaṭṭārikā Puṇṇeśvarī*, correctly *bhaṭṭārikā Pūrṇeśvarī* (or *Puṇyeśvarī*). The image, on the pedestal of which the inscription is incised, is thus called the goddess Pūrṇeśvarī or Puṇyeśvarī. This name reminds us of that of the goddess Puṇḍeśvarī mentioned in an image inscription¹ from Rajauna near Jaynagar although it is difficult to say whether the same name was intended here also. Thus the image in question was apparently installed at Campā by a person named Ūtakva, an expression like *pratiṣṭhāpitā*, required in the context, being omitted by the scribe through oversight. Campā was the capital of the ancient Aṅga *janapada* and has been identified with a locality in the suburbs of modern Bhāgalpur in East Bihar.² It is, however, difficult to believe that the image bearing the inscription under study was removed to Jaynagar from the neighbourhood of Bhāgalpur where it had been installed. We have also to note in this connection that another similar image has been recently discovered at Jaynagar bearing an inscription of the same age and that the cult of the Devī with Child seems to have been popular in the said area about the twelfth century A.D. It thus appears that the city of Campā stood on the site of present Jaynagar. The ancient capital of the Aṅga *janapada* seems to be no other than the city mentioned in our inscription.

The rest of the inscription in lines 3-5 clearly reads: *saumāja-sidhvava-sāmaṇa-sāmgṛī* (or *ghuṇau haḍi-nevadhā-sariva-kuṭumva* (or *mvā*) *jad=atra puṇya*. In this part, only the *anus-vāra* above *sa* and *ṭ* in the *akṣara* *ṭu* have been rather imperfectly formed. The intended reading of the passage quoted above seems to be: *siddhasamāja-śramaṇasaṅghānām haḍinibaddha-sarva-kuṭumbānām jad=atra puṇyam*, although the expression *tad=bhavatu* or *tat sarvaṁ bhavatu* is required at the end to complete the sense. I am sorry that I cannot suggest any better emenda-

1. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 140.

2. Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*, 1950, p. 107.

tion of this defective part of the record. It is wellknown that in the same context we have in similar other votive inscriptions usually the formula : *yad=atra puṇyam tad=bhavatu amukānām=anuttara-jñān-āvāptaye*. Often we have *mātā-pitr-pūrvanṅamaṁ kṛtvā amukānām*. It is possible to think that, like *tat sarvaṁ bhavatu*, some other expressions have also been omitted from the passage by the scribe through inadvertence. As, however, it refers merely to the people who were to be benefited by the meritorious deed performed by Ūtakva, viz. the installation of an image of the Buddhist goddess Pūrṇeśvarī or Puṇyeśvarī at Campā, the loss here may not be regarded as an important one.

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it includes the Monghyr region in the dominions of a king named Palapāla during his 35th regnal year apparently falling somewhere in the latter half of the twelfth century.¹ It is not difficult to reconcile Palapāla's rule over East Bihār for about 35 years with the known facts of the history of the Pālas in the twelfth century.

As we have shown elsewhere,² according to the evidence furnished by the recently discovered Valgudar inscription, dated in Śaka 1083 and in the 18th regnal year of Madanapāla (the last definitely known member of the Pāla family), the said Pāla king ruled in 1144-62 A.D. and was succeeded by Govindapāla who was overthrown by the Gāhaḍavālas from the Pāṭnā-Gayā region of Western Bihār shortly after his 4th regnal year (1165 A.D.). On the strength of the inscription under study, it may be suggested that Govindapāla lost his life in his encounter with the Gāhaḍavālas and that his successor Palapāla established him-

1. That a [Pāla] king with such a long reign-period flourished about the second half of the twelfth century in the Monghyr region seems also to be supported by the Lai (near Jaynagar) inscription of his *Vāsagārika* (officer in charge of the royal bed-chamber), which is being published in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXX, Part III. This record is dated in the year 32 of the reign of a king whose name is unknown.

2. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 137 ff.; *JAS*, Letters, Vol. XVII, pp. 27 ff.

self in the eastern part of his predecessor's dominions in East Bihār although we cannot entirely rule out the possibility of Palapāla ruling in East Bihar for sometime as a contemporary of Govindapāla of the Pāṭnā-Gayā region. It is usually believed that the Turkish Musalmans under the leadership of Ikhtiyāruddīn Muḥammad Bhakṭiyār Khiljī sacked the walled city of Bihar (Bihārsharīf in the Patna District) about February 1199 A.D. and reduced the province of Bihar to submission between October 1199 A.D. and January 1201 A.D.¹ or shortly before the 24th March 1203 A.D.² It is thus possible to think that Palapāla ruled in East Bihār from circa 1165 A.D. to the close of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century when he was overthrown by the Muslamans. He appears to have been the last king of the Pāla family. It may be pointed out in this connection that the Senas of Bengal succeeded in extending their power over the Bhagalpur region about the ninth regnal year of Ballālasena (circa 1158-79 A.D.) corresponding roughly to 1166 A.D.³ Palapāla may have succeeded in ousting the Senas from East Bihār; but he does not appear to have been able to free West Bihār from the Gāhaḍavālas.

TEXT⁴

1. Siddham⁵ śrī-Ge(Gau)ḍeśva(ra*)-Palapāṇa(la)-pādānām
Sam 35

2. Gaie(tra)-dī(di) 3 śrī-Campāyam 2 hū⁶ Ūtakv[ena]
bhaṭṭā.

3. rī(ri)kā Puṇṇeśvarī⁷ saumāja-siddhava-sāmaṇa-

1. *History of Bengal* (Dacca University), Vol. II, p. 32.

2. Cf. *IHQ*, Vol. XXX, No. 2, June 1954, p. 145.

3. *Ibid.*, No. 3, September 1954, p. 212.

4. From plaster casts of the inscription.

5. Expressed by symbol.

6. This *aḥṣara* may also be read as *hna*. The intended reading seems to be *śrī-Campāyāmi* = *ha*.

7. The intended reading may be *Pūrṇeśvarī* (or *Puṇyeśvarī*) *pratiṣṭhāpitā*.

4. sāmghrṇṇau¹ haḍinevadhā-saṁva-kuṭumva² jadatra³

5. punya⁴||

EMENDED TEXT

Siddham|| śrī-Gauḍeśvara-Palapāla-pādānām Saṁvatsare,
35 (pañcatrīṁśe) Caitra-divase 3 (tṛtīye) śrī-Caṁpāyām=iha
Ūtakvena bhaṭṭārikā Pūrṇeśvarī (or, Puṇyeśvarī)
(pratiṣṭhāpiṭā !*) siddhasamāja-śramaṇa-saṅghānām haḍini-
baddha-sarva-kuṭumbānām (ca*) yad=tra puṇyaṁ (tat=sarvaṁ
bhavatu*) ||

TRANSLATION

May there be success ! On the 3rd day of (*the month of*)
Caitra in the 35th year of the feet of Palapāla, the illustrious
lord of Gauḍa, here at the illustrious (*city of*) Caṁpā, the
(*goddess*) Bhaṭṭārikā Pūrṇeśvarī (or Puṇyeśvarī) (*is installed*)
by Ūtakva. Whatever merit is here (i.e. in this work) (*let*
it go) to the communities of *Siddhas* and the congregations of
Śramaṇas (i.e. Buddhist monks) (*as well as*) to all the relatives
of Ūtakva who are bound by the fetters (*of worldly existence*).

1. Possibly we have to read; : *siddhasamāja-śramaṇasaṅghānām*. The *akṣara* read as *ghṛ* may also be read as *ghu*.

2. The *akṣara mva* may be also read as *m[v]ā*. Possibly we have to read :
haḍinibaddha-sarva-kuṭumbānām ca.

3. Read *yad = atra*.

4. Read *puṇyaṁ tat sarvaṁ bhavatu*.

FOREIGN ELEMENTS IN NEO-BRAHMANIC SOCIETY.

By

Dr. P. Banerjee.

There was a considerable foreign population in India as early as the 6th-5th century B.C. This was due to the political and cultural contact that India had with Parthia, Greece, Bactria and the neighbouring countries since the time of Achaemenian and Alexander's invasion of the north-western parts of India. Further, while the influence of Bactrian Greeks was dwindling, several Scythic tribes made inroads into the Indian soil, some of whom permanently settled here. Thus it is interesting to enquire as to what the attitude of Brahmanism was towards the foreigners. In those days, we should note the Indian society was not so rigid and inflexible. Brahmanism was elastic, expanding and accommodative. Rank and status in the ancient society were open to talent, learning and proficiency in sacred lore, arts and science. Social position was more than often determined by one's own qualities and deeds, and not by mere birth in a particular group or family. It is worth remembering what Parāśara says in this respect in the *Mahābhārata*¹:—"The status of high-souled persons that have cleansed their soul through austerities, O King, cannot be regarded as affected by their low birth. The sages, O monarch, by begetting their children on women of this or that class or region, conferred upon them the status of the Rishi, through the power of their austerities.....There had sprung only four original 'gotras'. O King, namely Āṅgīrasa, Kāśyapa, Vasiṣṭha and Bhṛigu. But other 'gotras' came into existence, O King, in consequence of deeds and austerities and good people have adopted these appellations." This passage

1. *Santiparva*, Ch. 296, vs. 12-18.

shows that there were many Vedic Rishis who had low or unorthodox origin and mixed birth, but were elevated to the rank of Rishis by virtue of their austerities and spiritual greatness. It is well-known that 'Vyāsa' was born of a Vaiśiṣṭha Rishi (Parāśara) and Matsya Princess and that Parāśara himself was the son of a woman belonging to a community outside the 'varṇa' system.

Viśvāmitra who was originally an 'Alla' Kshatriya yet became a Rishi and founder of a Brāhmaṇagotra. As a man could rise to a higher status by appropriate deeds and spiritual efforts, one could in the same way be degraded to a lower caste and position for his misbehaviour. The Vishṇu Purāṇa in ancient history tells us that Nabhāga, a scion of the 'Ikshvāku' Kshatriya line of Vaiśālī, became a Vaisya and Prishadhra (also of Ikshvāku-Kshatriya group) was reduced to Sudra-hood for offending the priesthood. Thus we find that flexibility was the normal feature of the ancient Indian society.

Along with this traditional elasticity, the Brahmanic society saw quite early a "vigorous policy of expansion" too which naturally counteracted exclusiveness and conservatism. Agastya, we know, settled in and aryanised a large part of the Deccan. In the Suttanipāta we are told that the Brahmin Guru Bavarin who was originally a teacher of pasendī, a ruler of Kosala left Āryāvarta and settled near a village on the Godāvarī with a host of disciples. This reveals, no doubt, great proselytising activities on the part of the members of the Brahmanic society in early days. The Brahmanic society was always eager to widen its bounds, and incorporate those who professed originally other cults. Brahmanism is a flexible social organisation based upon the observance of certain rites as laid down in Vedic texts, some early, some late, or the Sūtras and Śāstras about 'Dharma' (social custom) and anybody could be included, who could follow some of these philosophical, theosophical or sociological beliefs. In short, birth, race or views were no barriers for entry into the Brahmanic society. There is a passage in Śānti Parva, Section 65 which explains very well the position of the

different castes and races in the ancient Brahmanic society. In the above mentioned passage Māndhātā asks Indra, "What duty should be performed by the Yavanas, Kirātas, the Gandhāras, the Chīnas, the Sabaras, the Barbaras, the Śakas, the Tushāras, the Kankas, the Pallavas, the Andhras, the Madrakas, the Puṇḍras, the Pulindas, the Ramaṭhas, the Kambojas, the several castes that have sprung up from Brāhmaṇas and Kshatriyas, the Vaiśyas and the Śūdras that reside in the dominions of the Arya kings. What are the duties again to the observance of which kings like ourselves should force these tribes that subsist by robbery." Indra said : "All the robber tribes (Dasyus) should serve their mothers, fathers, their preceptors and other seniors and reclauses living in the woods. All the robber tribes should also serve their kings. The duties and rites inculcated in the Vedas should also be followed by them. They should perform sacrifices in honour of pitṛis (Manes)and make...presents unto Brāhmaṇas.....They should make presents to Brāhmaṇas at sacrifices of every kind if they desire prosperity. They should also perform all kinds of Pākayajñas with costly presents of food and wealth.....¹"

What follows from the above passage is that the foreigners and people of diverse cults could be admitted into the Brahmanic society provided they observed the Brahmanic 'Dharma' (social constitution) as laid down in the sacred texts.

The literary traditions noted above (for earlier periods) are supported by archaeological evidences of our later period, thereby showing the continuity of the Brahmanical tradition of elasticity and expansion. We have a number of inscriptions which show that the foreigners were easily incorporated into Brahmanic society. The most striking instance that we can refer to in this connection is that of Śaka Ushavadāta (Rishabhadatta). Rishabhadatta is a purely Indian name, (with a Jaina flavour) so also is that of his wife namely Dak-

1. *Mahābhārata, Śāntiparva* (Eng. tr, by P. C. Roy), section 65.

shamitrā (somewhat Śaivite). Apparently from the name itself Rishabhadatta cannot be recognised as a foreigner. Fortunately the inscriptions throw a good deal of light on the point. In the Nasik inscriptions and also in one of the Karle Buddhist epigraphs (Lüders, List, No. 1099) Rishabhadatta has been described as the son of Dinika and son-in-law of Kshaharāta Kshatrapa Nahapāna. Dinika and Nahapāna are non-Indian names and Nahapana was a well-known Saka ruler of the Deccan and Gujrat. Besides the names of his father and father-in-law which suggest his foreign nationality Rishabhadatta has been expressly described as a Śaka in an inscription.¹ Rishabhadatta, as is evident from his inscription, was devoted to Brahmanism. In this Nasik inscription No. 10 he has been described as a liberal and mighty donor to the Brahmanas. He gave away three hundred thousand cows, made gifts of money and 'tīrthas' on the river Bārṇāsā and dedicated 16 villages to the gods and Brahmanas. He fed annually one hundred thousand Brahmanas and provided Brahmanas with eight wives each at the religious tīrtha of Prabhāsa (Prabhāse Punyatīrthe Brāhmaṇebhyaḥ aṣṭabhāryā-pradena, Ep. Ind. Vol. viii, p. 78) and gave thirty-two thousand stems (plants) of cocoanut trees at the village Nānaṅgola to "the congregation of Charakas at Pindita Kāvāḍa, Govardhana, Suvarṇamukha and Rāmatīrtha in Soparga." These facts leave no doubt that Rishabhadatta was an ardent follower of Brahmanism and this is corroborated by a few other inscriptions of his. The Nasik inscription No. 12 (Ep. Ind. Vol. viii, p. 82) records his donation of 7000 Kārshāpaṇas to the venerable gods and Brāhmaṇas and his gifts to the Brāhmaṇas on the river Bārṇāsā and at Prabhāsa have been referred to also in the Karle Buddhist Gave inscription Lüders, List. No. 1099).

Besides Śaka Ushabhadāta there were many other foreigners who seemed to have been adopted into Hindu fold. The Nasika

1. Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, p. 85.

Buddhist Cave inscription No. 18 (Ep. Ind. Vol. vii, p. 90) refers to the dedication by Indrāgnidattā of a cave in mount Tiraṇhu with a Chaityagriha and cistern to the universal Saṅgha of Monks. Indrāgnidattā is the son of Dharmadeva the Yavana, and a resident of Dattamitra. Both the names, viz. Indrāgnidattā and Dharmadeva are Brahmanical names. In the Nasika cave inscription No. 15 Ep. Ind. Vol. viii p. 88) it is stated that Vishṇudattā, a female Śaka and lay devotee of the Buddhist church made an investment of money (1,000 Kārshapaṇas) with guild of Kularikas at Govardhana to provide medicines for the sick of the Buddhist Saṅgha there. Vishṇudattā was the mother of the Gaṇapaka Viśvavarman and daughter of Agnivarman, the Śaka. The suffix Varman shows that Agnivarman and Viśvavarman, though they had a Śaka origin were looked upon as Kshatriyas. Vishṇudattā, Agnivarman and Viśvavarman are Brahmanical names. This shows that these foreigners merged fully into the Indian society, adopted normal Indian names and followed this or that religion of India, either orthodox Brahmanical, or any of the dissenting or Reformed sections.

During the period under review there were certain foreigners who were devoted to Brahmanism though they did not lose their foreign identity. This shows that Brahmanism was growing in popularity with unabsorbed foreigners also i.e. those who were either in the first stage of immigration into India, or were in the borderlands and beyond in the north and west. The best instance in this connection is exemplified in the Mathura inscription of the year 28, edited by Sten Konow in *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. xxi p. 55 ff. This inscription is dated on the 1st. day of Gurppiya in the year 28 as noted above. Gurppiya, as Konow points out, is the Macedonian month Gorpaaios, corresponding to the Indian Proshṭhapada. The inscription records a permanent endowment of a sum of 1000 Purāṇas with two guilds, by one who is designated as Kanasarukamānaputra Kharasa-

lerapati Vakanapati. The object of the endowment is to feed a hundred Brāhmaṇas in a hall daily, out of the interest realised from month to month, and to keep also some provisions daily at the door for the hungry and the destitute. It is notable that the donor was a foreigner who came to Mathurā to create an endowment for the welfare of the Brāhmaṇas and the benefit of the poor. The foreign origin of the donor is implied not only by his title Vakanapati but also from the date of the record which is not in Indian but a Greek Calender month. It is to be noted that the gift was made during the rule of Huvishka for the donor expressly wishes that whatever merit may accrue from his act may accrue to the Devaputra Shahi Huvishka and also to those to whom the Devaputra is dear. This patronage of Brāhmaṇas by one who is of a purely foreign origin shows that Brahminism was held in high esteem during the Kushān period. This is corroborated by another Brahmanic record from Mathura. This was found engraved on the stone pedestal of an image of which the traces of the left foot alone have survived. The pedestal comes from the neighbourhood of the village Mat about nine miles from the city of Mathura, the site from where the well known statues of Kanishka and Vima Takshana were unearthed. The inscription is broken. We learn, however, from it that "there was a devakula" of.....the grandfather of Devaputra Huvishka" and that this 'Devakula' had fallen down. This was repaired by a certain official of Devaputra Huvishka," who, as stated in the inscription, held the title of 'Vakanapati' and made provisions for the feedings of the daily guests and Brāhmaṇas.

Among the Satraps of Ujjayinī, Rudradaman was the most prominent. His father was Jayadaman and grandfather, Chashtana. As the names show, the Satrapas of Ujjaini though of a foreign origin were gradually Hinduised from the time of Jayadaman. Certain distinctly Hindu names in Rudradaman's line ending with Hindu suffixes are Rudrasimha, Rudrasena, Damasena, Vijayasena, Viśvasimha and others. Rudra-

daman was well-versed in Sanskrit Grammar and language, music, politics, and logic and he is one of those earlier rulers who took initiative in introducing Sanskrit in official records. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar remarks that so purely Hinduised the Śakas Satrap families had become that the other royal Hindu families did not think it polluting or degrading to contract matrimonial alliances with them (Ind. Ant., 1911. pp. 7ff). A Kaṇheri cave inscription reveals that the Sātavāhana prince Vāsiṣṭhiputra Śrī Sātakarṇi was married to the daughter of the Mahākshatrapa Rudra who is believed to be the same as Rudradāman of Junāgaḍh Rock Inscription. Thus the inscriptional evidences are abundant to show that the Brahmanical society during our period was highly elastic and that it included and observed foreign elements without much difficulty.

The Ābhīras seem to be another foreign hoard who were completely Indianised and adopted Saivism as their personal creed. In the Viṣṇupurāṇa (Ch. XLV, VV. 115, 126) and Maushala Parva of the Mahābhārata they have been described as Dasyus and Mlechchhas. According to the Purāṇas there were ten Ābhīra kings and they ruled for 67 years. An Ābhīra chief Rudrabhūti by name is said to have served as general of a Śaka king of Ujjain. The Gundā inscription which is dated in Śaka year 103 (A.D. 181) referring to the reign of Rudrasīmha I speaks of a grant made by the above said Ābhīra General (Rudrabhūti). The Śaka Satraps of western India were overshadowed for a time by an Ābhīra king name Mādhārīputra, Śīvarasena (3rd century A.D.), son of Śīvaradatta whose inscription has been discovered at Nasik. The names Rudrabhūti, Śīvaradatta and Śīvarasena are Brahmanical (Saivite) names.

According to Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, the migration of the Ābhīras into India took place towards the beginning of the Christian era. The Ābhīras, in our opinion seem to have settled in India much earlier than Bhandarkar supposes. In the Mahābhārata they are mentioned in Parvas, ii, iii, vi, vii,

xiv and xvi. In Mushala parva (i.e. Parva xvi) we are told that when Arjuna, after catastrophe at Dvārakā, was taking the Yādava women, children and oldmen to Indraprastha they attacked him (i.e., Arjuna) on the way (in Pañchanada) and robbed most of the women. The Yādava re-exodus to Indraprastha under the leadership of Arjuna is a historical fact and forms a basic part of Mahābhārata episode. The date of this event which took place shortly after the Bhārata war would go before 1,000 B. C. if the tradition is believed. Even if its date is fixed on the basis of the time of the Mahābhārata composition, it cannot be much later than the 6th century B. C. as the epic nucleus was complete by this time. The main story of the Mushala parva describing the attack of the Ābhīras upon the Yādavas cannot be dismissed as an interpolation for it forms an integral part of the epic. In light of this we can hold that the Ābhīras lived in India several centuries before Christian era. Our opinion seems to be corroborated by the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali who flourished in early part of the 2nd century B. C.

Patañjali mentions Ābhīras in his Mahābhāṣya in the compound Śūdrābhīram while commenting in and illustrating the grammatical aphorism, 'Sāmānya-Viśeṣa-vāchinōṣch dvan-dvābhāvāt siddham. The very fact that the Ābhīras were considered in Patañjali's time as Śūdras, one of the four Varṇas in Indian society shows that they (i.e. the Ābhīras) settled and were domiciled in Indian soil at least some centuries before the 2nd century B.C. It may be stated here that they are called Śūdras in certain parts of the *Mahābhārata* also. All this would tend to show that D. R. Bhandarkar is not justified in bringing down the Abhira migration into India as late as 1st century A. D.

SEAL OF KALACHURI JAYASIMHADEVA

By

Dr. Sant Lal Katare

The copper seal of the Kalachuri Jayasimhadeva, son of Gayakarna and brother and successor of Narasimhadeva, which is being published here, was kindly lent to me by Shri V. B. Rai, nephew of the late R. B. Hiralal. The plates are deposited in the Central Museum, Nagpur.

The seal, which weighs $41\frac{1}{2}$ totals and has a diameter of 2·8" is round in shape. In a circle of round beads are enclosed the royal emblem and the name of the king. The seal in bold relief depicts seated *Gaja-Lakshmī* with four hands, the upper two of which hold the lotus and the lower two appear to be empty. The *Gaja-Lakshmī* is out-flanked on both the sides by two kneeling elephants with their trunk upraised. She wears a three-pronged crown. Below in between two *dīpas* (lamps) there is the couchant bull. And in between the *Gaja Lakshmī* above and the couchant bull below is carved the name of the king, which reads:—

Śrīmajjayasimhadeva

Only two copper-plate inscriptions of the time of Jayasimhadeva have been discovered so far, of which the Rewah plate, the first to be discovered, was not royal-grant; it records a grant made by a subordinate chieftain, *Mahārāṇaka* Kirtivarma of Kakarkedi, in the reign of Jayasimhadeva.¹ The second, the Jabalpur Kotwali plates, published by the late R.B. Hiralal² and dated in the Kalachuri year 918, records a royal charter issued by Jayasimhadēva himself. As royal charters were generally issued with the seal of the king, the present seal

1. I. A. Vol. XVII, p. 226.

2. E. I. Vol. XXI, pp. 91 ff.

was attached to the Jabalpur Kotwali plates of Jayasimhadēva. Why the seal was not published along with the plates by R.B. Hiralal, it is not possible to say. This seal in its form is similar to that of the Kalachuri kings Karṇa¹ and Yaśaḥ-karṇa. It was cut and detached from the plates and was probably not available to Hiralal when he published the plates.

1. Cf The Banaras, (*E. I.* Vol. III, pp. 82 ff.) and the Goharwa (*Ibid.* Vol. XI, pp. 139). Grants of the Kalachuri Karṇa and the Khalrah Grant (*Ibid.* Vol. XII, pp. 205 ff) of his son Yaśaḥ-Karṇa.

INSCRIPTION OF MOHAMMAD-BIN-YUSUF AT BEDIBAN

By

Shri S. V. Sohoni.

In O'Malley's District Gazetteer of Champaran District there is a note on Bediban, a village near Mehsi on the Motihari—Muzaffarpur road : "A village situated in the south-east of the headquarters subdivision, about half a mile north-east of the Pipra railway station and about a mile to the south of Sitākunḍ. The village contains the remains of an old fort, 925 feet long from north to south and 670 feet broad, with an average height of 12 feet above the surrounding country. The ramparts, which appear to be of earth only, are covered with trees and surrounded by a broad shallow ditch. Close to the northern end of the enclosure there is a lofty terrace, 20 feet high, surrounded a brick wall, with two long flights of steps on the north and the east. On the western half of this terrace stands a Hindu temple, a domed building with a verandah or portico on the entrance side, which faces the east. The only object of worship in this shrine is a stone with a Muhammedan inscription, which is called Bhagwan-ka-Charanpad, or foot-prints of Bhagwan. The stone is two feet square and one foot thick, with seven lines of Arabic writing in the usual raised letters. Unfortunately the daily libations of *ghi* and water have injured the letters so much that the record is not very legible; but General Cunningham was able to decipher the name of Mahmud Shah, whom he identified with Mahmud Sharki, King of Jaunpur (1450 A.D.)"

2. Prof. S. H. Askari has discussed this inscription in his "Review of Bihar during the Turko-Afghan Period" published in the *Current Studies*, 1954.

The correct reading of the inscription as recorded by Shri Fasihuddin Balkhi and Shri Vishnu Sastri is as follows:—



Inscription of Mahmud-Bin-Yusuf.

J. B. R. S.

"Tamam Shud in Halqat-ul-Aqtab-ul Akber 2 Dar Ahad-i-Shahan Shad-i-Adil Shah Muhammad 3 Bin Tughluq Shah la-zala Mulkohu was Daulata 4. Anhuam Bazail Izzud Daulat Waddin 5. Quazi-i-Muhar-i-Khas was Zikrullah Bakar 6. O Ain Bandah Mahmud bin Yusuf Almulaqqab-7. Bistum Mah-i-Rabi-ul-Awwal Sanata Saba wa Arbeen wa-SabaMayata"

Prof. Askari has rightly observed that this inscription is really dated 1346 AD. (or 747 AH and not 847 AH)

Its translation is given below:—¹

1st. line—This compound of one of the great saints was finished

2nd. line—during the reign of the Just Emperor Shah Mohamad

3rd. line—the son of Tughlaq Ahah (may God keep his kingdom and wealth for ever)

4th. line—and this was transferred to the supervision of Izuddin

5th. line—to administer the function of Qazi and pray to God.

6th. line—It was founded by Mahmud bin Yusuf (al molaqqab i.e. entitled)

7th. line—on the 20th day of Rabi-ul-Awal, the year 747 Hijri.

What could "Halqat-ul-Aqtab-ul-Akber" mean? The word halqa' has come down to this day and means a ring, a compound or a circle i.e. an enclosed space. It appears in the present context, a reference is intended to the fort mentioned in the gazetteer description of Bediban village. The structure indicated in the inscription was made over to Izuddin for his administration as Qazi. The Qazi was a judicial officer, primarily with some ecclesiastical functions.

Prof. Askari has remarked that this inscription was recorded in a year when there was a Muslim invasion of Nepal (analysed² by Jayaswal).

Trade routes—and consequently, political aggression—followed convenient lines of communication, and in Tirhut, they are mainly determined by river channels. Bediban is close to the bank of the Burhi Gandak. In those days, an

1. I am obliged to Shri Mohammad Ilias Rahmani of the Darbhanga Collectorate for some references in this article.

2. *J. B. R. S. 1936. Current Studies* p. 13, 1954.

invader of any part of North Bihar or of areas lying even further north, had to go along roads parallel to major rivers.

Before this inscription was recorded i.e. before 1346 A.D., Tughlaq Shah Gazi had conquered Tirhut in 1324 A.D. from Raja Harsingdeo whose Raj was restored to him in 1325 A.D. when Mohammad-bin-Tughlaq succeeded his father. Harsingh's capital was a Harsinghpur (in what is now P.S. Bahera in Darbhanga Sadar Subdivision).

This inscription is our earliest indication of Bediban-Mehsi area assuming administrative importance.¹ Earlier, in Tirhut, dynastic headquarters were at Simraon in Champaran District from which centre Raja Nanyadeo and his successors looked after their territories comprising of what are now called Champaran, Muzaffarpur, Darbhanga and Saharsa Districts and Begusarai and Khagaria Subdivisions, Purnea District and the adjoining Terai area. Shams-ud-din Iltutmish who had conquered Tirhuts stated its boundry as "*Az Gang Ta Sang; Az Kos Ta Ghos*"—meaning, "from the Ganga to the Mountain (the Himalayas) and from the Kosi to the Gandak." I understand that Qazi Minhaj-i-Siraj who wrote his chronicle, '*Tabqat-i-Nasiri*' in the reign of the successor of Shams-ud-din Iltutmish, has referred to the presence of the Kosi at that time, near about the present Malda District. In connection with this inscription, however, what is probably more important is that Tirhut was administratively divided into two parts, along the water channel of Burhi Gandak, not long after 1347 A.D., when Haji Shamad Ilias Shah, a Viceroy of Bengal, declared himself independent, during the reign of Firoz

1. The Subdivisional Officer of Motihari Sadar forwarded to me 5 copper coins found at Bediban. One is a cast coin Taxila type (Obv. crescent on hill. Rev. elephant to left); and two are Kushan coins, one being of Kanishka. The other two coins are, one of Islam Shah (like I.M.C., PL. IV, No. 298). One of these Tughlaq coins is dated 735 A. H. i.e. 1334 A.D.

The find of Kushan coins at Bediban is of considerable interest. This illustrates the law of continuity of religious sites.

I am obliged to Sri Shere, Curator of Patna Museum for examining these coins and favouring me with his advice.

Tughlaq. The portion of Tirhut on the right bank of the Gandak, consisting of the present Districts of Champaran, Muzaffarpur and the Parganas of Saraisa and Belagachi in the Samastipur Subdivision and Khagaria and Begusarai Subdivisions, was administered directly from Hajipur. The areas on the left bank consisting of the present District of Darbhanga (without the parganas of Saraisa and Belagachi), Sitamarhi Subdivision and Saharsa District, were allowed to be retained in the possession of the Raja of Tirhut. Motihari was founded shortly after by Moti Singh, a descendant of Raja Harsinghdeo and Motihari is not far away from the Burhi Gandak channel.

The history of the growth of towns along the principal river banks in North Bihar is fascinating study. An intersection of roads, one of which runs along side a major river, almost invariably located an administrative centre, whose importance varied according to the degree of control exercised from the main political headquarters.

STUDIES ON THE HISTORY OF RELIGION IN ANCIENT KĀSMĪRA.

By

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The earliest inhabitants of Kāsmīra probably cherished some aboriginal beliefs, the details of which are not traceable now. The snake-cult or nāga worship seems to have been established in the valley from a remote period and undoubtedly had been one of the earliest religions of the land. In the third century B.C. Buddhism seems to have made some headway into Kāsmīra, converted a large number of people and overshadowed the Nāga-cult which ultimately sunk into oblivion. Among Hindu Gods, Śiva either originated or entered into the valley sometime before the faith of the Śākya-prince made its entrance and was later followed by Viṣṇu, Sūrya and other Paurāṇic gods and goddesses. A brief history of the different types of religious cults and beliefs of early Kāsmīra, may be sketched as follows.

Nāga Worship.

Kāsmīra was one of the principal centres of serpent-worship in India. Though detailed evidence is lacking there is no doubt that snake-worship prevailed in the valley from a very early period.

Regarding the exact date when the snake-cult was prevalent in the land, no direct testimony is available. But there are reasons to believe that in the 4th and 3rd centuries B.C., it might have been the principal religion of Kāsmīra. In the Mahāvamsa, it is said that Aśoka's adviser Moggaliputta Tissa sent Majjhantika to preach Buddhism in Kāsmīra. When the Śramaṇa reached the valley, he found that Aravāla, the King of the Nāgas, was ruling over it. Aravāla was destroying the corns of the country by hail storm. Majjhantika, however,

due to his divine powers remained unaffected from rains and storms. This made the Nāga king furious who sent lightning and struck rocks against the Buddhist monk in order to kill him. But all these went in vain. Then convinced of the great powers of Majjhantika, the Nāga King Aravāla together with his followers submitted before the monk, and accepted Buddhism. This was followed by the conversion into Buddhism of a large number of Nāga worshippers of Kāsmīra-Ghandhāra.¹

Hieun Tsang, who visited Kāsmīra in the 7th Century A.D. relates that according to the native records, Kāsmīra was originally a dragon lake.² A very detailed and vivid account of how the Arhat Madhyantika (apparently Madhyantika) rescued the valley of Kāsmīra from the Nāgas, established there the religion of Buddha and settled 500 Arhats in the country, has been preserved in the Chinese Vinaya of the Mula Sarvāstivādin sect.³ The Tibetan scholar Bu-ston, who composed his famous history of Buddhism in the 14th century A.D. points out that when Madhyantika went to Kāsmīra to preach Buddhism, he found the Nāgas presiding in the valley. They at first gave a tough opposition to Madhyantika, but at the end, the Buddhist monk succeeded in subduing the troublesome Nāgas.⁴

That Nāga worship prevailed in early Kāsmīra receives confirmation not only from the accounts of Ceylon, China and Tibet but also from native literatures.

The Nilamatapurāṇa, probably a work of the 7th or 8th Century A.D. records at great length how Kāsmīra was created out of water and left to the care of the Nāgas of whom Nila, the son of Kaśyapa, was the Chief. According to this work, in the beginning human beings could dwell in the valley for six months of the year i.e. during the summer. In winter, the land was occupied by the Piśācas and human beings had to leave

1. Mahāvamśa, XII, 3.

2. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, I, p. 265.

3. See M. J. Przyluski's article in the *Journal Asiatique* for the year 1914, pp. 535 ff.

4. *History of Buddhism* by Bu-ston (tr. by E. Obermiller), II. p. 90.

the valley due to excessive cold. Once Nila was satisfied with a Brāhmaṇa called Candradeva and agreed at his prayer that men should be allowed to live in Kāsmīra during the winter also. The Nāga king also disclosed to him the rites which were to be observed by the future human inhabitants if they were to live permanently in the valley.

Most of the rites prescribed by Nila are concerned with the nature of worship of popular deities. But there are some festivals which are particularly connected with the worship of Nāga or serpent. Thus Nila was worshipped in the festival of the first snowfall. Nila and the Nāgas were also propitiated on the Irāmañjarī puṣkā festivity which took place in the month of Caitra. Another ceremony called Varuṇa pañcamī was held on the fifth day of Bhādra and was connected with the worship of serpent King Nila.

The Nilamatapurāṇa also records the names of the principal Nāgas worshipped in Kāsmīra, the total number of which was 527. The four dikpālas of Kāsmīra, mentioned by the author of the Nilamatapurāṇa were four Nāgas—Bindusāra in the East, Śrīmadaka in the South, Elāpatra in the West and Uttaramānasa in the North. From a remote period, great importance must have been attached to the worship of the Nāgas as is shown by the long account of them given in the Nilamatapurāṇa. A large number of temples built near some of the famous springs and undoubtedly early origin of the pilgrimages directed to them, clearly point out the popularity of the Nāga-cult in ancient Kāsmīra. The Nāgas were supposed, according to the Nilamatapurāṇa, to reside in the lakes and springs of the valley. Even now names of places like Vernāg, Anantanāg, Sernāg etc. show traces of ancient Nāga beliefs.

That the Nāgas were eminently popular deities in the happy valley, is also testified by Kalhaṇa's chronicle. According to the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, Kāsmīra was a land protected by Nila, the lord of all Nāgas.¹ Even when Buddhism had undermined

1. *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, I, 28, 182.

the Nāga beliefs, one of its early kings Gonanda III is said to have reintroduced the pilgrimages, sacrifices and other worship in honour of the Nāgas, as they had been before.¹ There is also a story of Suśrava nāga, and his alliance with a Brāhmaṇa is depicted with much details.² King Durlabhavardhana and his scions are ascribed to a family which according to Kalhaṇa was Nāga in its origin.³ Nāga Mahāpadma, the tutelary deity of the Vular lake is said to have showed King Jayāpīḍa, a mountain which yielded copper.⁴ Another Nāga, called Pindāraka deluded the Darad chieftain Acalamaṅgala, who attached the happy valley during the reign of Ananta.⁵ Among the festivals connected with the Nāga-cult, Kalhaṇa speaks of the annual festival in honour of the great serpent King Takṣaka "frequented by dancers and strolling players and thronged by crowds of spectators" which was celebrated on the 12th day of the dark half of Jyaiṣṭha.⁶ Kṣemendra also refers to a Takṣakayātrā festival in his *Samayamāṭīkā* (*Samayamāṭīkā*, ii, 88).

That the Nāga cult prevailed in the valley throughout the Hindu rule and even afterwards, seems to be corroborated by the account of Abul Fazal. He tells us that during the reign of Akbar (A.D. 1556-1605) there were in Kāśmīra 45 places dedicated to the worship of Śiva, 64 to Viṣṇu, 3 to Brahmā and 22 to Durgā, but there were 700 places in the valley where there were carved images of snakes which the inhabitants worshipped.⁷ (The Chapter on the Nāga cult in Ancient Kashmir has already been published in the Calcutta Review, Dec. 1950. I reproduce it here again for the sake of comprehensive treatment of the subject, the religious history of Ancient Kāśmīra.)

1. R. T., I, 185.

2. R. T., I, 201-273.

3. R. T., III, 530.

4. R. T. V, 592-617.

5. R. T., VII, 167-175.

6. R. T., I, 222.

7. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II (tr. Jarret, 2nd edition), p. 356.

Buddhism

Buddhism seems to have obtained a footing in Kāsmīra as early as the 3rd century B.C. The Ceylonese chronicle *Mahāvamsa* preserves an account of the introduction of Buddhism in the valley by Majjhantika which has been already noted.¹ That Buddhism was first preached in Kāsmīra by Madhyantika and that he succeeded in making a large number of converts also receive confirmation from traditions recorded in the Tibetan work *Dul-va*² and the Records of Hieun Tsang.³

We learn from Kalhaṇa that Kāsmīra formed a part of the empire of Aśoka, who was a follower of Jina i.e. Buddha⁴ The emperor built in the valley numerous stūpas⁵ some of which were existing as late as the time of the Chinese pilgrim Hieun Tsang's visit.⁶ The great emperor, who was zealous always in preaching and disseminating the religion of Buddha throughout length and breadth of his kingdom and even beyond, seem to have tried his best to spread it in the secluded vale of Kāsmīra too.⁷

What happened to the state of Buddhism in Kāsmīra, after the death of Aśoka, we do not know. Probably in the 1st century B.C. Kāsmīra came under the occupation of the Greek

1. *Mahāvamsa*, XII, 3.

2. *Dul-va* (A.S. B. Xylograph) XI, 684—690.

3. Watters, *On Yuan Chuang*, I, p. 261-262.

4. *R. T.*, I, 101-102.

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Si-yu-ki*. (tr. Beal), I, p. 150.

7. The name of Kāsmīra does not occur in the edicts of Aśoka, where a detailed description has been given regarding the emperor's missionary activities in different parts of his far flung empire and even beyond it. But we know from R. E. V that Dharma-Mahāmātras were appointed by Aśoka to establish and promote Dharma among the Gandhāras and other peoples. Now Gandhāra, in pre-Christian days, seems to have included within it, the territory Kāsmīra. In the Buddhist texts, Kāsmīra-Gandhāra was regarded as one of the sixteen janapadas. Kas papyros (i.e. Kāsmīra) was noticed by Hekataios (459-486 B.C.) as a Gandaric city. In the *Milindapañha*, Kāsmīra-Gandhāra appears as a compound name. (*Milindapañha*, V. Trenckner, p. 331). It therefore appears highly probable that when Aśoka refers to Gandhāra in his inscription, he probably includes within it the territory of Kāsmīra. According to some scholars, Nabhakas mentioned in R.E. XIII, were probably the inhabitants of Kāsmīra. See *I. H. Q.*, XXIV, pp. 163-164.

King Menander.¹ Like the great emperor Aśoka, he was also first a lay devotee of Buddha but afterwards left his throne, joined the Saṃgha and at last became an arhant.² He erected a vihāra for his co-religionists which came to be known as Milinda—Vihāra, after the name of its founder.

The Buddhism of Kāśmīra entered into its golden phase under the patronage of the Kuṣāṇa King Kaniṣka and his successors who came to occupy the valley about the end of the 1st century A.D. Kalhaṇa mentions that three Turuṣka i.e. Kuṣāṇa Kings, Huṣka Juṣka and Kaniṣka ruled over Kāśmīra and founded three towns called Huṣkapura (Mod. Huṣkur), Juṣkapura (Mod. Juṣkur) and Kaniṣkapura (Mod. Kanespur).³ These Kuṣāṇa Kings were given to acts of piety and built many vihāras, maṭhas, caityas and similar other structures.⁴ During their powerful rule, the land of Kāśmīra was, to a great extent, under the possession of the Bauddhas, who, by practising the law of religious mendicancy, had acquired great renown.⁵

That Kāśmīra was a great centre of Buddhism under the Kuṣāṇas receives further corroboration from the fact that the fourth Buddhist council took place in Kāśmīra under the auspices of Kaniṣka. At the end of the council, Hieun Tsang informs us, several expository commentaries were written on the Sūtra, Vinaya, and Abhidharma. The original text and its explanation, came to be known as Upadeśa-Śāstra and Vibhāsa-Śāstra, Kaniṣka had these treaties engraved on copper plates and deposited them at a stūpa, apparently situated in Kāśmīra.⁶

1. As related in the *Milindapañha* the discussion between Milinda and Nāgasena took at a place which was only 12 Yojanas from Kāśmīra (*Milindapañha*, ed. Trenckner, pp. 82-83) and this has some important bearing on the history of Buddhism in Kāśmīra in the 1st century B.C.

2. *Milindapañha* (ed. Trenckner), p. 420.

3. *R. T.*, I, 168. Of the three Turuṣka Kings Huṣka, Juṣka and Kaniṣka, mentioned by Kalhaṇa, Huṣka has been generally identified with Kuṣāṇa King Huviṣka, Juṣka is probably Vājeṣpa of the Ara inscription of the year 41, and Kaniṣka may be either Kaniṣka I or Kaniṣka II of the Ara inscription.

4. *R. T.*, I, 169-170.

5. *R. T.*, I, 171.

6. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, I, pp. 270-271.

Many great Buddhist scholars resided in Kāsmīra during the reign of the Kuṣāṇas. Of these, Kalhaṇa mentions the name of Nāgārjuna who resided at Śadharāḍvanail. Harwan.¹ According to Chinese evidence Aśvaghosa, Vasuvandhu, Vasumitra, Dharmatrāta Saṃghabhadra, Jinatrāta and many other scholars lived in Kāsmīra from the time of Kanīṣaka onwards.²

The flourishing state of Buddhism in Kāsmīra at the end of the Kuṣāṇa period and afterwards is testified to by archaeological evidence. The site of Harwan (ancient Śadharāḍvana) yields Buddhist stūpas, bases of chapels, inscriptions containing the celebrated Buddhist creed Ye dhamma etc. From the appearance of Kharoṣṭhi numerals on the brick tiles and from the Buddhist inscription Ye dhamma etc. written in Brāhmī characters of about the 4th century A.D. the Buddhist antiquarian objects of Harwan may be assigned to a period round about 300 A.D.³ A number of terracotta figures, mainly busts or heads of Buddha, Bodhisatva and Buddhist monks have been recovered from another ancient site Uskar (Huviṣkapura) and are assignable stylistically to the 4th or 5th century A.D.⁴

Not only the Kuṣāṇa Kings, but local rulers of Kāsmīra also seem to have patronised the faith of Buddha in the early centuries of the Christian era. One of its early kings, Meghavāhana, prohibited the slaughter of animals in his kingdom.⁵ He also stopped the killing of animals in sacrifices.⁶ Amṛtaprabhā, the wife of the King erected a vihāra for Buddhist monks, which was called Amṛtabhavana.⁷ Many vihāras of renown were built by other queens of him.⁸ Kalhaṇa compares the king with Jīṇa i.e. Buddha and also with Bodhisatvas.⁹ All these probably

1. R. T., I, 173.

2. Watters, *On Yuan Chuang*, I, pp. 272-283.

3. *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir* R. C. Kak, pp. 105-111.

4. Kak, *Handbook*, of the Archaeological and Numismatic Sections, Pratap Singha Museum, Srinagar. pp. 11-24.

5. R. T., III, 6.

6. R. T., III, 7.

7. R. T., III, 9.

8. R. T., III, 11-14.

9. R. T., III, 4, 7.

indicate Meghavāhana's attachment to the faith of the Śākya prince.

During the reign of Pravarasena (c. 6th cent. A.D.) his maternal uncle Jayendra built a vihāra and erected a statue of the Great Buddha.¹ Pravarasena, according to Kalhaṇa, was succeeded by his son Yudhiṣṭhira II.² Several ministers of his, who bore the names of Sarvaratna, Jaya and Skandagupta obtained distinction by erecting vihāras and caityas.³ In the vihāra built by a queen of King Meghavāhana, a fine statue of Buddha was placed by Amṛtaprabhā, the wife of king Raṇāditya.⁴

In spite of the legendary character of the early portions of the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, Kalhaṇa's main contention that Buddhism received patronage from the local rulers of Kāśmīra during the early centuries of the Christian era, seems on the whole, to be based on facts. The Jayendra Vihāra, said to have been founded by Pravarasena's maternal uncle Jayendra, was visited by Hiuen Tsang in the 7th century and Ou-kong about the middle of the next century saw the vihāra of Amṛtabhavana, built by Amṛtaprabhā queen of Meghavāhana, in a flourishing condition.⁵

A fairly reliable account of the condition of Buddhism in Kāśmīra from the 7th century onward has been furnished by the accounts of the Chinese travellers Hieun Tsang and Ou-kong, the chronicle of Kalhaṇa and some archaeological discoveries made at Gilgit, Pandrethan and Paraspor.

Several Buddhist manuscripts were found out from a stūpa at Gilgit.⁶ The script used in the manuscripts may be assigned to the 6th or 7th century A.D. One of the manuscripts reveals the name of a Śāhi King Śrīdeva Śāhi Surendra Vikramāditya

1. *Q. T.*, III, 355.

2. *R. T.*, III, 379.

3. *R. T.*, III, 380.

4. *R. T.*, III, 463-64.

5. *J. B. B. R. A. S.* (1861), p. 223; *J. A.* (1895), 9 Serie, Tome VI, p. 354.

6. *Gilgit Manuscripts* (ed. N. Dutt), I, Intr. pp. 40-43.

Nanda who was apparently ruling over the Gilgit region when the manuscripts were deposited. Buddhism was thus flourishing on the northern part of Kāśmīra sometimes about the end of the 6th century A.D. or in the early part of the next under the patronage of Śāhi rulers.

To about the same period as the manuscripts of Gilgit, may probably be assigned also a large number of Buddhist sculptures hailing from the village of Pandrethan (ancient Purāṇādhiṣṭhāna). Purāṇādhiṣṭhāna was the capital of Kāśmīra from a very early date. It enjoyed the privileges of being metropolis until about the end of the 6th century A.D. when King Pravara-sena built a new city called Pravarasenapura (Mod. Śrinagar), which henceforth became the new capital of the valley. From stylistic consideration, the sculptural remains discovered at Pandrethan seem to have belonged to a period when the old city was finally abandoned in favour of the new. Besides two Buddhist stūpas and the courtyard of a monastery, the objects of Buddhist antiquities found at Pandrethan include two standing figures of Buddha, a seated statue of him, one diademed and ornamented image of Bodhisatva Avalokiteśvara, another fragmentary sculptured relief of Buddha or Bodhisatva and lastly a relief representation of the birth of Siddhārtha.¹

Hieun Tsang paid a visit to Kāśmīra in 631 A.D. He saw in the valley about one hundred saṃghārāmas and five thousand Buddhist priests. There were four stūpas built by Aśoka, each of which contained relics of Tathāgata. Among the Buddhist vihāras visited by him specific mention is made of the Juṣka Vihāra (Mod. Uskar, near Baramula) and Jayendra Vihāra (founded by Jayendra, the maternal uncle of Pravarasena II). The Chinese pilgrim stayed in the Kāśmīra court for a couple of years, during which period, (with the help of the local clerks² he took copies of a large number of Buddhist scriptures.

1. Kak, *Handbook*, pp. 27-38.

2. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, pp. 258 Sq. Dr. N. Dutt suggests that the Buddhist scriptures copied by Hieun Tsang in the Kāśmīra Court, formed the basis of the Tripiṭaka of the 7th Century A.D. *Gilgit Manuscripts*, I, Intr. p. 37.

Evidently, Kāsmīra was a great centre of Buddhism when Hieun Tsang visited it.

Hieun sang entered Kāsmīra during the period of the Karkoṭas. The Kings of the Karkoṭa dynasty were followers of Hinduism and worshipped in general gods like Viṣṇu, Śiva and Sūrya all belonging to the Hindu pantheon. Nonetheless, some of the monarchs of the dynasty also gave liberal patronage to the religion of Tathāgata. Hieun Tsang was received with favour by one of its early kings, presumably Durlabhavardhana, Durlabha's queen Anaṅgalekhā built a Buddhist vihāra, which came to be known as Anaṅgabhavana Vihāra.¹ Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa founded one Rājavihāra with a large quardrangle and a large caitya at Parihāsapura. At Huskapura the noble minded king built another large vihāra with a stūpa.² A colossal copper image of Buddha was made by him, which is said to be have reached upto the sky.³ At Parihāsapura Cankuna, Tukhāra minister of the king erected the Cankuna Vihāra, built a stūpa and placed there golden image of Jina i.e. Buddha.⁴ A second vihāra, together with a caitya was built by the minister at Adhiṣṭhānāntare, evidently at Śrinagara and in this vihārā, the minister put a brownish image of Buddha Sugata which was brought from Magadha on the shoulders of an elephant.⁵ Jayāpīḍa Vinayāditya, another celebrated monarch of the Karkoṭa family, set up three images of Buddha and a large vihāra at his newly founded town Jayapura.⁶

Archaeological excavations carried on at Parihāsapura the city founded by Lalitāditya, have brought to light Buddhist structures—a stūpa, a monastery and a caitya. The stūpa has been identified as the stūpa of Cankuna, the monastery with the Rājavihāra built by Lalitāditya and the caitya with a large

1. R. T., IV, 3.

2. R. T., IV, 188-200.

3. R. T., IV, 200, 203.

4. R. T., IV, 211.

5. R. T., IV, 213, 259-262.

6. R. T., IV, 507.

caitya said to have been founded by the same monarch.¹ Among the sculptures discovered at Parihāsapura, there are two images of Bodhisatva and one of Buddha.² All these, prove to the hilt the popularity of Buddhism in the days of the Karkoṭas.

The thriving state of Buddhism in Kāsmīra, during the reign of the Karkoṭas i.e. during the 7th and 8th centuries A.D. is also attested to by the evidence of the Chinese traveller Ou-Kong. Ou-Kong came to Kāsmīra in 959 A.D. He spent 4 years in the Valley in pilgrimages to holy sites and in studying Sanskrit. He learnt the Śīlas and the vinayas of the Mulasarvāstivādins at the Moung-ti-Vihāra. The other vihāras referred to by him are Ngo-mi-to-po-wan, Ngo-nan-i, Ki-tche, Nao-ye-le, Je-je Ye-li-te-le and Ko-toen.² While Hieun Tsang saw about one hundred vihāras Ou-Kong noticed more than 300 vihāras in Kāsmīra and innumerable stūpas and sacred images. This undoubtedly points out a rise in the popularity of Buddhism in the valley during the period of the Karkoṭas.

Buddhism seems to have been overshadowed by the growing Viṣṇuite and Śivite faith which became predominant in the valley in the centuries following the Karkoṭa period. The dynasty of Utpala supplanted the Karkoṭas about the middle of the 9th century A.D. The founder of this dynasty Avantivarman (A.D. 855/56-883) was a staunch follower of Śiva and Viṣṇu and the architectural remains which have been discovered from the site of Avantipura, the town founded by the monarch include some images of Viṣṇu, Śiva and other Brahmanical gods, but not a single figure of Buddha or Bodhisatva. But though Buddhism was in the background, the opinion cherished by some scholars

1. Kak, *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir*, pp. 146-149.

2. *J. A.* (1895), VI pp. 31 Sq. Mung-ti-Vihāra seems to be identical with a large vihāra said to have been built by Muktāpīḍa at Huṣkapura (*R. T.*, IV, 188), Ngomi-to-po-wan with Amṛtabhavana constructed by Amṛtaprabhā, queen of Meghavāhana (*cf. R. T.*, III, 11), Ngo-nan-i-with Anaṅgabhavana-vihāra founded by Anaṅgalekhā, wife of Durlabhavardhana (*cf. R. T.*, IV, 3), Ki-tche-with Kṛtyāśrama Vihāra (*Cf. R. T.*, I, 147). Also see Stein, *R. T.* (Eng. tr.), Vol. I, p. 26, 73 and 140.

that from the middle of the 9th century on till the advent of the 11th century, the Buddhists fell on evil days and all the kings were anti-Buddhistic in spirit¹ seems to be an extreme view yet to be established beyond doubt. Except Kṣemagupta (A.D. 950-958) and Harṣa (A.D. 1089-1101), no king of this period is known to have cherished any anti-Buddhistic feeling in their heart. As for Kṣemagupta, we learn from Kalhaṇa that he burnt down a Buddhist monastery named Jayendra Vihāra.² From this decaying Vihāra, he took away the brass image of Buddha Sugata. The stones of the temple, he utilised for a Śiva temple in his own name.³ Kṣemagupta further confiscated 32 villages which belonged to the burnt vihāra and gave them to Khaśa ruler.⁴ But the wrath of a cruel eccentric king against a single particular Buddhist monastery should not be taken as an instance of systematic policy of religious persecution adopted by the state against the Buddhists. Moreover it may be noted, that if Kṣemagupta had followed an anti-Buddhistic policy, he would have destroyed many of the Buddhist vihāras of Kāśmīra. But as we learn from Kalhaṇa, the king burnt only a solitary Buddhist monastery; and this incident may suggest at most the king's ill-feelings towards a particular monastery which might have been guilty of some gross misdemeanour. It is unfair to infer from this single instance that the king pursued a policy of anti-Buddhism, when we have no other information to support the view. A remarkably fine statuette of Bodhisatva Padmapāṇi is now preserved in the Pratāp Sing Museum, Śrīnagar. An inscription engraved at the base mentions its consecration in the reign of queen Diddā (A.D. 980-1003). That Buddha was not looked with disapproval in the 11th Century A.D. receives further corroboration from the writings of Kṣemendra who says that during his time, the birth day of Buddha was

1. *Gilgit Manuscripts* (ed. N. Dutt), I, Intr. p. 45.

2. *R. T.*, VI, 174.

3. *R. T.*, VI, 172-173.

4. *R. T.*, VI, 175.

observed with great ceremony in the valley.¹

As for Harṣa, it may be said that the king was not merely an anti-Buddhist, but a man having no sympathy for any religion whatsoever. If he plundered the statues of Buddha, he confiscated alike the images of the Brahminical gods and goddesses. And for all these works of plunder, spoliation and confiscation the king was actuated not by his enmity towards any particular sect, but by his greed or rather need for money.

Buddhism received patronage from king Jayasimha, who ascended the throne of Kāsmīra in 1128 A.D. Many Buddhist vihāras were built or repaired during this period. He completed the construction of the Sulla vihāra, which was started by his uncle, Uccala.² Another vihāra, built by the queen Ratnādevī also received the king's care³. The king's minister Rihāṇa constructed a vihāra in memory of his deceased wife Sussala.⁴ Sussala was indeed a sincere follower of Buddha, as she is said to have built at the site of the Cankuna vihāra, of which nothing but the name remained, a stone shrine, residences and other structures.⁵ Cintā, the wife of Jayasimha's commander Udaya, built a vihāra, which included within it, five buildings.⁶ One of the ministers of Jayasimha, Dhanya by name, commenced the construction of a vihāra, but could not complete the structure, due to his premature death. Then Jayasimha, the king himself made arrangements for the completion of the building and for a permanent endowment.⁷

It is almost definite that Buddha was held in high honour in Kāsmīra upto the last days of the Hindu rule. A stone

1. *Saṁvatsare Saptaviṁśe Vaiśākhasya Sitodaye* I. Kṛteyam Kalpalatikā jina janmamahotsave II. Introduction, *Avadānakalpalatā*, verse 16. According to the *Nilamatapurāṇa* also, the birth day of Buddha was held in ancient Kāsmīra on the full moon day of Vaiśākha *Nilamata* (ed. De. Vreese) verses, 684-689.

2. *R. T.*, VIII, 3318.

3. *R. T.*, VIII, 2402.

4. *R. T.*, VIII, 2410-2411.

5. *R. T.*, VIII, 2415.

6. *R. T.*, VIII, 3352-53.

7. *R. T.*, VIII, 3343-3344.

inscription generally taken to have been dated 1197 A.D. has been discovered at Arigom (anc. Hāḍigrāma), about 15 miles south west of Śrīnagara. The inscription opens with a salutation to Buddha Avalokiteśvara and exalts him with glorious titles.¹

Marco Polo (13th century) states that in his time Kāsmīra was pre-eminent among the idolatrous countries and it was the very original source from which idolatry had spread around. There were also a number of idolatrous abbeys and monasteries. The superiors who exercised the functions of the abbots in these monasteries were held in great reverence by the mass of the people.² If Yule's interpretation that the word 'Idolatry' is an expression meaning Buddhism³ be accepted, then, we are to admit that Buddhism enjoyed wide popularity in the valley as late as the end of the 13th century.

The place of Kāsmīra in the history of Buddhism was great indeed. From the moment Buddhism was preached in the valley, Kāsmīra became mistress of the Buddhist doctrines and particularly the citadel of the Sarvāstivāda school. She played a great role in the spread of Buddhism beyond India, to Kāndāhār and Kabul and Bactria and thence to Central Asia and China. The Tibetan Buddhism also drew its inspiration from Kāsmīra.

Saivism

The history of the introduction of Saivism in Kāsmīra, is shrouded in mystery. Archaeologists have discovered traces of Śiva Worship in the proto-historic Indus Valley civilisation. It is not known, whether the Śiva of Kāsmīra was an immigrant from the neighbouring Indus Valley or was of local origin. The conception of Rudra Śiva of the Vedic Aryans perhaps might have

1. Namo Bhagavate Āryāvalokiteśvarāya Trailokyālokabhūtāya Lokabhavaccide I Jagadānandacandrāya Lokanāthāya te namaḥ I, *Ep. Ind.*, IX, pp. 300 qq.

2. Yule, *Travels of Marco Polo*, I, p. 166-67.

3. *Ibid*, p. 168.

had some influence in the development and early growth of Śaivism in the valley, but any definite assertion on the point must be hazardous and risky.

Whatever might have been the origin of Śaivism in Kāśmīra, there is no doubt that Śiva as a popular deity was widely worshipped in the valley from a remote period. If Kalhaṇa is to be believed, there was a shrine of Śiva Vijayeśa even in pre-Aśokan days.¹ Aśoka himself built two temples of Śiva-Aśokeśvara.² and was also a devotee of Śiva Bhūteśa.³ Aśoka's son Jalauka was also a worshipper of Śiva. He made a vow that he would ever worship Śiva Vijayeśvara and Jyeṣṭheśa residing at Nandiśakṣetra.⁴ He also erected a shrine of Śiva Jyeṣṭharudra at Śrīnagarī⁵ and built a stone temple at Nandikṣetra for Śiva Bhūteśa.⁶ Next king Dāmodara II is said to have been crest jewel of Śiva worshippers.⁷ The Hūṇa Chief Mihirakula, who came into possession of the valley sometime in the 6th Century A.D. founded at Śrīnagarī a shrine of Śiva Mihireśvara.⁸ King Gokarṇa established a shrine of Śiva Gokarṇeśvara,⁹ his son Narendrāditya Khinkhila of Śiva Bhuteśvara¹⁰ and the latter's preceptor of Śiva Ugreśa.¹¹

Tuṅjina I built a temple of Śiva Tungeśvara.¹² A Kāśmīrian minister named Sandhimati became famous for his devotion to Śiva.¹³ When this minister came to be king he consecrated a large number of Śiva liṅgas and constructed two shrines of

1. R. T., I, 105-106.

2. R. T., I, 106.

3. R. T., 107.

4. R. T., I, 113.

5. R. T., I, 124.

6. R. T., I, 148.

7. R. T., I, 154.

8. R. T., I, 306. Mihirakula's devotion to Śiva is also borne out by his coins where the trīśūla and the bull of Śiva appear and the legend runs as Jayatu Vṛṣadhvaṇa. See Cunningham, *Coins of Mediaeval India*, p. 27.

9. R. T., I, 346.

10. R. T., I, 347.

11. R. T., I, 348.

12. R. T., II, 14.

13. R. T., II, 65.

Śiva under the names of Sandhiśvara and Iśeśvara.¹

King Śreṣṭhasena, also known as Pravarasena I, constructed the first shrine of Pravareśvara.² King Pravarasena II, who was a staunch follower of Śiva³ consecrated the līṅga of Pravareśvara.⁴ Another King, Raṇāditya was a votary of Śiva and erected temples in honour of his adored god.⁵

The account of the Śiva worship in Kāśmīra, as given above, has been gleaned principally from the first three books of the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* and as such, can not claim to be wholly trustworthy. The facts furnished by Kalhaṇa, however, indicate in the main, the wide prevalence of the Śaiva cult in the valley from an early period.

While coming to the more sober portions of Kalhaṇa's work we find innumerable references to the foundations of Śiva shrines, erection of temples in honour of Śiva etc. These references, more reliable than the former ones, help us to portray the actual picture of Śaivism in Kāśmīra in later days.

The Karkoṭas came to occupy the throne of Kāśmīra in the 7th century. Some members of this family were devoted to the cult of Śiva. Narendraprabhā, mother of Lalitāditya, built a shrine of Śiva Narendreśvara.⁶ Lalitāditya erected a lofty temple of stone for Śiva Jyeṣṭharudra and made a grant of land and villages for the maintenance of the temple.⁷ He also offered a large amount of money to the shrine of Śiva Bhūteśa.⁸ The king's love for Śaivism was perhaps contagious and his minister Mitraśarman founded a shrine of Śiva Mitreśvara.⁹ Ācārya Bhapaṭa constructed a shrine of Śiva under the name of Bhappaṭeśvara and many other shrines of Śiva called Rak-

1. R. T., II, 123-135.

2. R. T., III, 99.

3. R. T., III, 268-280.

4. R. T., III, 350.

5. R. T., III, 440-463.

6. R. T., IV, 43.

7. R. T., IV, 190.

8. R. T., IV, 189.

9. R. T., IV, 209.

chaṭesa etc. were put up by a host of people.¹ During the reign of Lalitāditya's grandson Jayāpīḍa, his chamberlain Aca, built a shrine of Śiva Aceśvara.²

Śaivism received patronage also from the Utpalas, who succeeded the Karkoṭas. Avantivarman's minister Śūra built at Śūreśvarikṣetra a temple in honour of Śiva and his consort.³ His son Ratnavardhana erected a temple of Śiva Bhuteśvara.⁴ The king Avantivarman founded at Avantipura a temple of Śiva Avantiśvara.⁵ At the shrines of Tripureśvara, Bhūteśa, and Vijayeśa, three pedestals were fitted by the king with both conduits made of silver.⁶ The king, moreover, regularly went to worship at the Śaiva shrines of Bhūteśvara and other places.⁷

Avantivarman's successor to the throne was his son Śaṁkaravarman. He too was a devotee of Śiva. In the town of Śaṁkarapura, founded by him, the king built two temples of Śiva Śaṁkaragaurīśa and Sugandheśa.⁸ The latter temple was built in the name of Śaṁkaravarman's queen, Sugandhā who, evidently, like his husband, was a worshipper of Śiva. Śaṁkara's minister Ratnavardhana erected another temple of Sadāśiva Ratnavardhaneśa.⁹

Śiva was worshipped with great devotion not only in the Karkoṭa and Utpala period, but also in the succeeding ages. Parvagupta, who was on the throne of Kāśmīra about the middle of the 10th Century. A.D. founded the shrine of Śiva Parvagupteśvara. Another temple of Śiva Kṣemagaurīśvara was erected by the succeeding King Kṣemagupta.¹⁰

Among the members of the first Lohara dynasty,

1. *R. T.*, IV, 214.
2. *R. T.*, IV, 513.
3. *R. T.*, V, 40.
4. *R. T.*, V, 45.
5. *R. T.*, V, 46.
6. *R. T.*, V, 48-49.
7. *R. T.*, V, 158.
8. *R. T.*, V, 163.
9. *R. T.*, VI, 137.
10. *R. T.*, VI, 173.

Samgrāmarāja obtained dreligious merit by restoring the famous shrine of Śiva Raṇeśvara.¹ Queen Suryamati founded the temple of Śiva Gaurīśvara² and also consecrated a second temple of Sadāśiva near the royal palace.³ Her devotion towards Śiva was further marked by the consecration of Triśūlas, Bāṇalingas, and other sacred emblems.⁴ Suryamati's husband, king Ananta, according to the evidence of Kalhaṇa, surpassed even the munis by his devotion to Śiva.⁵ Ananta's son Kalaśa too was a staunch follower of Śiva. The stone temple of Śiva Vijayeśa which was formerly burnt down, was built anew by him.⁶ At Tripureśvara, Kalaśa founded another temple of Śiva.⁷ A third temple of the god, was erected by him under the name of Kalaśeśvara.⁸ All these temples were adorned with golden parasols and cups and the like.

Śaivism also flourished under the second Lohara Dynasty. Rilhaṇa, a minister of Jayasimha, built at Purāṇādhiṣṭhāna, a shrine of Śiva Rilhaṇeśvara.⁹ Another minister of the King, Bhutta by name, consecrated a Śiva image called Bhutteśvara.¹⁰ Prince Sangiya, a chief from the Takka territory, founded a Śiva after his own name.¹¹ Mankha, the brother of Sāndhi-vigrahika Alamkāra, constructed a shrine of Śrīkaṇṭha Śiva along with a maṭha.¹² A shrine of Śiva Rudreśvara was erected by Jayasimha's queen Radda.¹³ The virtuous king Simhadeva bowed to Śamkara, the lord of Gauri, and caused Vijayeśvara to be bathed in milk purchased with one lakh

1. R. T., VII, 115.

2. R. T., VII, 180.

3. R. T., VII, 181.

4. R. T., VII, 185.

5. R. T., VII, 201.

6. R. T., VII, 525.

7. R. T., VII, 526.

8. R. T., VII, 527.

9. R. T., VIII, 2409.

10. R. T., VIII, 2432.

11. R. T., VIII, 3348.

12. R. T., VIII, 3354.

13. R. T., VIII, 3389-3391.

pieces of gold (niṣka).¹

Some of the Śaiva establishments, referred to by Kalhaṇa, have been actually found out by archaeological explorations. The temple of Śiva Avantiśvara, founded by Avantivarman (855-883 A.D.) with massive walls now stands sadly mutilated just outside the village of Jaubror. The temples of Śaṃkara—gaurīśa and Sugandheśa have been identified with two ruined temples of Patan. A temple at Narannag has been identified by Stein with the Jyeṣṭheśa temple of Lalitāditya and another large temple in the same site with Bhūteśvara.² Most of the Śaiva images whether in his phallic or in his human form, have been destroyed. Among the few early sculptural representations of the god, which have survived upto date mention may be made of a seated figure of Lakuliśa form of Śiva at Pandrethan³ several sculptured reliefs of Śiva at the temple of Payer including Śiva seated cross legged on a throne under the canopy of an over hanging tree and surmounted by votaries, Śiva Bhairava pursuing a human being, six headed dancing Śiva, three headed Śiva seated cross-legged⁴ a large human faced Śiva līṅga at Baramula,⁵ a three headed Śiva image and a three headed Śiva in alto-relieve from Avantipura.⁶

Early Kāśmīra Śaivism was of the Pāśupata sect.⁷ According to a tradition recorded in the Mahābhārata, the Pāśupata doctrine was preached first by Śiva Śrīkaṇṭha. It is interesting to note that Śiva Śrīkaṇṭha was also regarded in the valley as the promulgator of Śivāgama or Āgamanta Śaivism⁸ which included within itself the system of Pāśupata.

The early Kāśmīra Śaivism, based on a number of Tantras seem to have preached a dualistic doctrine. From the 8th or

1. Jonarāja, *Dvitiya Rājatarāṅgiṇī* (Bombay ed), verse 127.

2. *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* (Eng. tr. by Stein) Vol. I, p. 194.

3. R. C. Kak, *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir*, p. 114.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 126-127.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 154.

6. Kak, *Handbook*, pp. 55-56.

7. R. T., I, 17-48, III, 267, 460, V, 404.

8. J. C. Chatterjee, *Kashmir Śaivism*, p. 36.

9th century, however, the Śaiva System of Kāsmīra assumed a new character. Based on pure Advaitatattva, it henceforth began to preach a sort of idealistic monism. The new system took the name of Trika Śāstra. The founder of this new doctrine was a holy sage, named Vasugupta, who probably lived in the early years of the 9th century A.D.¹

The new form of Kāsmīra Śaivism—Trika Śāstra or Trika Śāsana, as it was called, was subdivided into three principal classes—the Āgama Śāstra, the Spanda Śāstra, and the Pratyabhijñā Śāstra. The Āgama Śāstra was consisted of a number of old Tantras such as Mālinī Vijaya, Svachchanda, Vijñāna Bhairava, Ānanda Bhairava, Uchhusma Bhairva, Mṛgendra, Mātanga, Netra, Naiśvāsa, Svayambhuva, Rudra Yāmala, etc. These existed even before the coming of the Trika and Śiva Sūtras which are said to have been revealed by Śiva himself to the sage Vasugupta.

The principles of the Trika system which found its first expression in the Śiva Sūtras were amplified and given clearer expositions in the spanda Śāstra or spanda Kārikas which was probably a work Kallaṭa (9th Century A.D.) and was probably based on a work called Spandāmṛta written by Vasugupta himself.²

A philosophical treatise, supporting the doctrines of the Trika by critical arguments and reasonings—vicāra and manana, was written by Siddha Somānanda, probably a disciple of the sage Vasugupta and this came to be known as Pratyabhijñā.

The Advaita Śaivism of Kāsmīra, first propounded by Vasugupta took its origin about the 9th Century A.D. To Kallaṭa must be given the credit of spreading the knowledge by writing explanatory notes on them. Kallaṭa's work was carried on

1. Vasugupta's disciple Kallaṭa is mentioned by Kalhana as a contemporary of Avantivarman (A. D., 856-883) in *R. T.*, V, 66. Hence Vasugupta seems to have lived somewhat earlier than Kallaṭa, say in the first quarter of the 9th Century A.D.

2. Chatterjee, *Kashmir Saivism*, p. 32.

through ages by his disciples and some of the writers of the succeeding period, wrote several treatises on it.

When Advaita Śaivism grew up in Kāśmīra, it had a formidable rival in the sister religion of Buddhism. To combat the rival, it needed a philosophy to support it and this was supplied by the Pratyabhijñā Śāstra. The work of Somānanda was taken up and expanded into greater details by his successors Utpala, Abhinavagupta, Kṣemarāja, Yogarāja and Jayaratha. The lamp of Śaivism burnt steadily in the valley throughout the period of the Hindu rule and even afterwards; and as late as the 18th century A.D. a work on the Pratyabhijñā Śāstra was composed by a writer named Śivopādhyayā.

It seems that the idealistic monism of the Trika system being exclusively philosophical and ethical, remained confined among a particular class of learned religious minded people only. The mass kept themselves attached to their old forms of Śiva worship, and perhaps had little to do with the idealistic school. In Kalhaṇa's Rājatarāṅgiṇī, we have a large number of references to Śaiva establishments etc. but there is no hint of the Trika system. If Kalhaṇa is to be believed, the old traditional Pāśupata Śaivism prevailed in the valley in the 11th century A.D. and even afterwards.¹

Vaiṣṇavism

The cult of Viṣṇu seems to have existed in Kāśmīra from a very early period. Lack of materials, however, prevents us from tracing its origin and early character.

The earliest historical reference to the worship of Viṣṇu occurs in the pages of the Rājatarāṅgiṇī where it is said that an image of Viṣṇu Jayasvāmin was consecrated by king Pravarasena

1. R. T., VII, 44. The presence of Kāpālin Sect in the valley as evidenced from Kalhaṇa's Rājatarāṅgiṇī, III, 369, VII, 44 cuts at the root the theory of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar that Kāśmīra was free from the scenes of ghastly Kāpālinism or Kālāmukhism the wild aberrations of the human intellect and spirit, cf. *Vaiṣṇavism, Saivism and minor religious system*, pp. 129-132.

II.¹ Pravarasena II might have lived about the end of the 6th century A.D. Another image of Viṣṇu Raṇasvāmin was consecrated by king Raṇāditya at or near his capital Pravarapura.² Raṇāditya, who is credited with a reign of three hundred years is undoubtedly a legendary figure in Kalhaṇa's chronicle. But the historicity of the temple of Viṣṇu Raṇasvāmin is amply proved by Jayanata Bhaṭṭa's mention of it in the Āgamaḍambara³ and Kalhaṇa's reference to it in his fifth book where he speaks of a visit paid to Raṇasvāmin by Cakravarman's queen.⁴ Maṅkha (12th cent. A.D.) in his Śrīkaṇṭhacarita refers to his father's worship of Raṇasvāmin⁵ Jonarāja also mentions Raṇasvāmin Viṣṇu in his commentary and describes it as "Śrīpravarapurapradhānadevatā."

With the accession of the Karkoṭas to the throne of Kāśmīra in the 7th Century A.D. Viṣṇu, the adorned deity of the family, came to occupy a prominent position in the Kāśmīra pantheon. A son of King Durlabhavardhana, called Malhaṇa built the shrine of Viṣṇu Malhaṇasvāmin,⁶ while the king himself consecrated at Śrīnagarī shrine of Viṣṇu Durlabhasvamin.⁷ Durlbhavardhana's grandson Candrāpīḍa, who lived in the early part of the 8th cent. A.D. consecrated the shrine of Viṣṇu Tribhuvanasvāmin.⁸ His preceptor, Mihiradatta built a temple of Viṣṇu Gambhirasvāmin and his city prefect Calitaka founded a temple of Viṣṇu Calitasvāmin.⁹

The illustrious Lalitāditya came to the throne of Kāśmīra not long after the death of Candrāpīḍa-Vajrāditya. He too was a great devotee of Lord Viṣṇu. Resolved upon the conquest

1. R. T., III, 350-351.

2. R. T., III, 144-158.

3. "Tadatra praviśya bhagavantamaśeṣajana-śaranam Raṇasvāminam praṇipatya tataḥ sabhāmadhyamadyāśisyc"—Act. IV, Āgamaḍambara.

4. R. T., V, 394.

5. Śrīkaṇṭhacarita, III, 68.

6. R. T., IV, 4.

7. R. T., IV, 6.

8. R. T., IV, 79.

9. R. T., IV, 81.

of the world he built a shrine of Keśava Viṣṇu in the early part of his reign.¹ At Huṣkapura, he built a splendid shrine of Viṣṇu Muktasvāmin² and of the town of Lokapunya with some villages he made an offering to Viṣṇu.³ In the town Parihāsapura which the monarch constructed in honour of his adorned deity, he built the glorious silver statue of Viṣṇu Parihāsakeśava.⁴ At Huṣkapura, another famous image of Viṣṇu Muktakeśava, was made out of gold.⁵ A fourth one, that of boar incarnation of Lord Viṣṇu was founded by him under the name of Viṣṇu Mahāvarāha⁶ Lalitāditya consecrated two other silver images of his beloved god, one under the title of Govardhanadhara,⁷ and the other under the name of Rāmasvāmin.⁸ The latter image was placed in a stone temple which stood by the temple of Viṣṇu Parihāsakeśava. Garuḍa, the vāhana of Viṣṇu was also a great favourite of Lalitāditya.⁹

Lalitāditya's zeal for Vaiṣṇavism must have shed its light upon those who were near him and who were driven to the same spiritual inclinations.¹⁰ His queen Kamalāvati put up a large silver image of Kamalākeśava and the King of Lāṭa, named Kayya, who was probably a feudatory of Lalitāditya, founded a shrine of Viṣṇu Kayyasvāmin.¹¹

Some of the later Karkoṭa Kings also adhered to the faith of Viṣṇu. Jayāpīḍa, the grandson of Lalitāditya built the town of Jayapura, where, as Kalhaṇa poetically describes, "Keśava showing his quadruple form as well as reclining on the

1. *R. T.*, IV, 183.

2. *R. T.*, IV, 188.

3. *R. T.*, IV, 193.

4. *R. T.*, IV, 195, 202.

5. *R. T.*, IV, 196, 201.

6. *R. T.*, IV, 197.

7. *R. T.*, IV, 198. In Govardhanadhara, Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa seems to have been identified with the cow-herd-god, Gopāla Kṛṣṇa.

8. *R. T.*, IV, 275. The cult of Rāma probably did not exist in the 8th century A. D. and Rāmasvāmin seems to have been worshipped as an incarnation of Viṣṇu.

9. *R. T.*, IV, 199.

10. *R. T.*, IV, 208.

11. *R. T.*, IV, 209.

serpent Śeṣa, has truly taken up his abode, abandoning his residence in Viṣṇu's world¹ Jayāpīḍa's mother Amṛtaprabhā built a temple of Amṛtakeśava for the deliverance of her dead son. During the reign of Ajitāpīḍa, the ministers Utpala, Padma, Dharma, Kalyāṇa and Mamma built temples of Viṣṇu under the names of Utpalasvāmin, Padmasvāmin, Dharmasvāmin, Kalyāṇasvāmin, and Mammāsuvāmin respectively.³

Viṣṇu was also worshipped by the members of the Utpala dynasty who succeeded the Karkoṭas. Avantivarman (A.D. 855/56-883), the first king of the dynasty built the shrine of Viṣṇu Avantisvāmin, even before he became a king.⁴ His brother, Śūravarman founded a temple of Śūravarmasvāmin and a Gokula.⁵ Another brother of the king, Samara founded for Keśava in his quadruple form a temple called Samarasvāmin.⁶ Mahodaya, the chief door keeper of Śūra consecrated a shrine of Viṣṇu Mahodayasvāmin,⁷ while the King's minister Prabhākaravarman built a temple of Viṣṇu Prabhākarsvāmin.⁸ Lastly, Suyya, the irrigation minister of Avantivarman built at the new confluence of Sindhu and Vitastā a temple of Hṛṣikeśa Yogaśāyin.⁹

The popularity of the cult of Viṣṇu in the happy valley during the 8th and 9th centuries is further attested to by a number of images discovered from various ancient ruins. These include

1. *R. T.*, IV, 508. In the quadruple form of Keśava we can trace the Vyūhavāda of the Pañcarātra school whereas Keśava reclining on serpent Śeṣa points to the identity of Nārāyaṇa with Vāsudeva.

2. *R. T.*, IV, 659.

3. *R. T.* IV, 695-698.

4. *R. T.*, V, 45.

5. *R. T.*, V, 23. Gokula seems to have been a designation for a certain class of religious establishments. It is connected with Gokula, the dwelling place of Kṛṣṇa-Gopāla. The Gokulas of Kāśmīra were provided with meadows for the cow's unobstructed free grazing (*R. T.*, VIII, 2436-2437). It may be mentioned in this connection that according to Hindu mythology cowherd-Kṛṣṇa assumed the form of avatāra for killing demons in the cow settlement. (Hari Vamśa, verses, 5876-5878, Vāyu-purāṇa, Ch. 98, verses 100-102, Bhagavata Purāṇa, II, 7).

6. *R. T.*, V, 25.

7. *R. T.* V, 28.

8. *R. T.*, V, 30.

9. *R. T.*, V, 100.

a few busts and heads of Viṣṇu which have been recovered from Vijabror, three faced Viṣṇu figures carved on the walls of the Mārtanḍa temple, relief sculptures of Caturbhuja Viṣṇu and Viṣṇu, seated between consorts hailing from the ruins of Andarkoṭa, four headed Viṣṇu images from Avantipura and the surroundings and sculptured reliefs of Viṣṇu seated between his two consorts on the pilasters of the temple of Avantisvāmin.¹

The development of Vaiṣṇavism in Kāsmīra, from the 10th century onwards, is evidenced from Kalhaṇa's Rājatarāṅgiṇī Queen Sugandhā (A. D. 904-906) built a temple of Viṣṇu Gopāla Keśava and her daughter-in-law Nanda founded a temple of Nandikeśava.² A temple of Viṣṇu Meruvardhanasvāmi was built by Pārtha's (A.D. 906-921) minister, Meruvardhana³ Yaśaskara (A.D. 939-948) started the construction of a temple of Viṣṇu Yaśaskarasvāmin, which, when he died, was left incomplete. The construction however, was completed by Parvagupta (A.D. 949-950). Bhaṭṭa Phalguna, a councillor of Kṣemagupta (A. D. 950-958), founded the shrine of Viṣṇu Phalgunasvāmin.⁴ About the same time, Bhīma, the illustrious monarch of the Śāhi dynasty, who was the maternal grand father of Kṣemagupta's queen Diddā built a high temple of Bhīmakeśava.⁵ About the end of the third quarter of the 10th century A.D. queen Diddā founded a series of Viṣṇu shrines. The temple of Abhimanyusvāmin, she built to increase her deceased son Abhimanyu's merit⁶ while the shrine of Viṣṇu Simhasvāmin was erected by her, under the name of her father Simharāja.⁷ The queen further built two temples under the name of Viṣṇu Diddāsvāmin.⁸

The iconoclast Harṣa (A D. 1089-1111) destroyed a large

1. *Ann. Rep. A.S.I.*, 1915-16, p. 62, *Handbook*, pp. 48-52, 61-63; *Ancient Monuments*, p. 162 and Pl. L.

2. *R. T.*, V, 244-245.

3. *R. T.*, V, 267-268.

4. *R. T.*, VI, 140-142.

5. *R. T.*, VI, 178.

6. *R. T.*, VI, 299.

7. *R. T.*, VI, 304.

8. *R. T.*, VI, 300-302.

number of Hindu and Buddhist images. The Viṣṇu images desecrated by the dissolute king included the famous Parihāsa-keśava. But King Uccala, who stepped into his shoes in the early years of the 12th century A.D. put up a new image of Parihāsa-keśava.¹ He also adorned the shrine of Viṣṇu Tribhuvanavāmin with Sukāvali, which Harṣa had carried off.² Lastly, he restored the decayed temple of the ancient shrine Viṣṇu Cakradhara.³ All these are indications enough of the king's love and admiration for Vaiṣṇavism.

Vaiṣṇavism was popular even after Uccala's death. Ratnāvali, the queen of Jayasimha (A.D. 1128-49) established Vaikuṇṭhamāṭha and other pious buildings.⁴ The Gokula, erected by her, far excelled the Gokulas erected previously.⁵ Alamkāra, the Superintendent of Jayasimha's great treasury (vṛhadgaṇja) was also a worshipper of Viṣṇu.⁶ Among the later Hindu kings who professed Vaiṣṇavism, Jonarāja mentions Rāmadeva who renewed the Viṣṇu temple at Utpalapura⁷ and Udayanadeva who gave all golden ornaments in his treasury to Viṣṇu.⁸

In the Vaiṣṇavism of Kāsmīra, we find a synthesis of the different Vaiṣṇava cults, which were current in ancient India. In it seems to have mingled, the faith of the Vedic Viṣṇu, the system of the Pañcarātra school, the religion of the Satvats and the faith in the cowherd god Gopāla Kṛṣṇa. Rāma was worshipped as an incarnation of Viṣṇu,⁹ but there is no definite evidence of the existence of Rāma-cult in early Kāsmīra.

Among the various incarnations of Viṣṇu, Varāha (boar) Kṛṣṇa, and Nṛsimha (man-lion) were most popular. Lalitāditya

1. R. T., VIII, 79.

2. R. T., VIII, 80.

3. R. T., VIII, 78.

4. R. T., VIII, 2433.

5. R. T., VIII, 2436.

6. R. T., VIII, 2425.

7. Jonaraja (Bombay ed.), verse III.

8. Ibid., 265.

9. R. T., IV, 275; a perusal of *Nilamatapurāṇa* where mention is made of the worship of Rāma, also points to the same conclusion.

built a temple of Mahāvarāha¹ and iconographic representations of boar, man and lion faced Viṣṇu come from the temple of Mārtaṇḍa (8th cent. A. D.) as well as from the ruins of Avantipura (9th cent. A.D.) Rāma, as an incarnation of Viṣṇu, seems to have been worshipped in the 8th century A. D. The Nīlamatapurāṇa, refers to the celebration of Buddha's birth-day festival,² and this was a step towards the Buddha becoming an avatāra of Viṣṇu. The Avatāravāda of Kāśmīra was, however, thoroughly systematised by the 11th century A.D. and in Kṣemendra's Daśāvatāracarita, we find a list of the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu under the names of Matsya, Kūrma, Varāha, Narasimha, Vāmana, Paraśurāma, Śrīrāma, Śrīkṛṣṇa, Buddha and Karkya.³

Minor Gods and Goddesses of the Hindu Religion.

Besides Viṣṇu and Śiva, there were many other minor Hindu gods and goddesses in the early Kāśmīrian pantheon. The most important of them include Sūrya, Kārtikeya, Gaṇeśa, Agni, Lakṣmī, Durgā, Gaṅgā, Yamunā and Kāmadeva of whose worship we have real literary evidence. Some of their images too have survived.

The worship of Sūrya was probably brought into the valley from Iran at an early period. The Śakas and the Kusāṇas, who ruled over Kāśmīra in the early centuries of the Christian era, seem to have been responsible for its introduction. Paucity of evidence, however, prevents us from making any definite assertion on the point or from tracing the early character of the cult.

Raṇāditya, a king of ancient Kāśmīra, is said in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī to have built at the village of Simharotsika a temple

1. R. T., IV, 197.

2. Nīlamatapurāṇa ed. De, Vreese, verses 684-698.

3. The Daśāvatāra carita of Kṣemendra (ed. Durgaprasad and Parab, Kāvya-mālā, 26, Bombay, 1891).

of Mārtaṇḍa, which became famous everywhere under the name of Raṇapurasvāmin.¹ But Raṇāditya is a legendary character in the ancient history of Kāśmīra and the village Siṃharotsika or the Mārtaṇḍa temple, said to have been founded by him, cannot be located. In the 8th Century A.D., Lalitāditya erected the shrine of Āditya at the town of Lalitapura.² He built another massive stone temple of Sūrya under the name of Mārtaṇḍa,³ the ruins of which have survived.

The sun worship continued to be in vogue in Kāśmīra long after the death of Lalitāditya. King Śūrvarman II (A.D. 139 paid homage to the temple of the sun-god Jayasvāmin.⁴ The copper image of Sūrya, called Tāmrasvāmin, was one of the most celebrated shrines of the valley in the 11th century A.D.⁵ Kalhaṇa's remarks that Kāśmīrian king Kalaśa (A.D. 1063-1089) sought refuge with Mārtaṇḍa to save his life⁶ and presented a gold statue at the god's feet,⁷ prove the popularity of Sun-worship in Kāśmīra at that time. Kalaśa's son Harṣa. 1089-1101 A.D.), who destroyed a large number of divine images, spared the image of Mārtaṇḍa, either out of respect or out of fear.⁸

The ruins of the temple of Mārtaṇḍa clearly shows with what grandeur and pomp, love and devotion, the god was worshipped. No image of the sun-god has yet been recovered from any part of the valley. There is however in the right panel of the eastern wall of the ante-chamber of the temple of Mārtaṇḍa, representation of Aruṇa, the charioteer of Sūrya, holding the reins of his seven horses.

Kārtikeya worship in early Kāśmīra is borne out by the discovery of a fine six armed image of the generalissimo.⁹ Though

1. R. T., III, 467.

2. R. T., IV, 187.

3. R. T., IV, 192.

4. R. T., V, 449.

5. R. T., VII, 696, 709.

6. R. T., VII, 709.

7. R. T., VII, 715.

8. R. T., VII, 1096.

9. Kak, *Handbook*, p. 66.

the image can not be ascribed to any definite chronological setting, the close resemblance which it bears with the Gandhāra images of the Bodhisattvas, may place it to a period round about the 5th century A.D. Another standing figure of Kumāra, along with an Ardhanārīśvara image, has been found among the ruins of Avantipura¹ and may be dated to the period of Varman's rule (A.D. 855/56-883). The Nilamatapurāṇa, which was probably composed in the 8th century A.D. refers that the worship of Kārtikeya was performed on the 6th of Lunar Caitra every year and this was supposed to ensure the welfare and safety of the children of Kāśmīra.² In the Rājatarāṅgiṇī, there is mention of the foundation one Skandabhavana-vihāra by a Kāśmīrian minister Skandagupta.³ Though at a comparatively modern period the place was associated with the worship of Kārtikeya, Stein is probably correct in his assumption that in early times it was a Buddhist vihāra and had no relation with the deity of Kumāra.⁴ But even then, Skanda, the very name of the founder of the vihāra, seems to suggest his personal association with the god.

Gaṇeśa, the brother of Skanda, according to the Hindu mythology, was one of the popular gods of the valley of Kāśmīra. According to Kalhaṇa an image of Vināyaka Bhīmasvāmin existed in Kāśmīra as early as the days of Pravarasena II (c. 6th cent. A.D.) and received regular worship.⁵ A stone image of Gaṇeśa, along with an Ardhanārīśvara image, mention of which has already been made, found amidst the ruins of Avantipura may be dated to the second half of the 9th century A.D.⁶ Several terracotta plaques, containing the figure of the elephant headed god, evidently works of local craftsman-

1. *Ann. Rep., A. S. I.*, 1913-14, p. 53.

2. *Nilamatapurāṇa* (ed. Devreese), verses, 647-649.

3. *R. T.*, III, 380.

4. *R. T.* (tr. Stein), Vol II, p. 340.

5. *R. T.*, III, 352.

6. *Ann. Rep. A. S. I.*, 1913-14, p. 53.

ship, have also been recovered from the site of Avantipura.¹ That Avantipura was a centre of Gaṇeśa worship receives further corroboration from Kṣemendra who says that bowls of sweets offered to Lord Gaṇeśa were resold in the town of Avantipura.² We learn from the *Nilamata* that the 8th of the darker Āṣaḍha of every year was dedicated to the worship of Gaṇeśa and went by the name of Vināyaka-aṣṭmī.³ The worship of Vināyaka had also to be performed on the eve of the anointing ceremony of the king.⁴

No sculptural representation of Agni or fire god has yet been discovered from Kāsmīra. A passage from the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* however refers to the worship of the Fire god and records that king Uccala's father Malla, observed from his earliest time the cult of sacred fire.⁵ As Stein has pointed out there was probably a shrine of the god of Fire Svayambhū at Syyam, a place situated about half a mile from the present village of Nichhom.⁶ The temple of fire god Svayambhū was destroyed, it may be presumed, by Harṣa and the decayed building was restored by Uccala.⁷ King Uccala is also said to have started once on a pilgrimage of Svayambhū.⁸

Lakṣmī, the goddess of wealth, was quite a popular deity. King Pravarasena II (6th Cent. A.D.) is credited with the establishment of five shrines of the goddess Śrī.⁹ An image of Lakṣmī has come from the historic town of Vijabror, modern Brar.¹⁰ From stylistic consideration, the sculpture may be assigned to about the 6th century A.D. Another beautiful stone figure of the goddess seated on a throne, supported by a pair of lions, with elephants on each side pouring water over her head, has

1. Ibid. p. 54.

2. *Samayamātrkā*, II, 77.

3. *Nilamata* (ed. Devreese), verses, 698-700.

4. Ibid, verse, 847.

5. *R. T.*, VII, 1474.

6. *R. T.* (tr. Stein), Vol. I, footnotes on I, 34.

7. *R. T.*, VIII, 78.

8. *R. T.*, VIII, 250.

9. *R. T.* III, 353.

10. *Kak*, Hand-book, 58.

been discovered from the Avantisvāmī temple, and is apparently of the 9th century A.D. Kalhaṇa records that during the reign of Unmattāvanti (A.D. 947—939), a Brahmin of well known valour, named Rakka, raised an image of the goddess Śrī under the appellation of Rakkajayādevī.¹

Worship of Śakti, the energetic principle, seems to have been widely prevalent. In the worship of goddess Durgā, who is but an embodiment of Śakti, animal sacrifices played an important part² Goddess Śāradā was one of the most celebrated deities of the valley in early times³ and she was nothing but “Śakti embodying three separate manifestations”.⁴ References to “Mātṛcakra” are frequently met with in the Rajatarāṅgiṇī⁵ and sculptured images of Sapta Mātṛikas such as Brāhmaṇī, Māheśvarī, Kaumārī, Indrāṇī, Vaiṣṇavī, Vārāhī and Cāmuṇḍī have been recovered from Pandrethan.⁶ A life size separate sculpture of Vārāhī, representing a young woman with the face of Varaha, discovered among the ruins of Kāśmīra, is now preserved in the Lalmandi Museum, Srinagara.⁷ Though the Sapta mātṛkas were originally Śivaite in origin, there is no doubt that afterwards they became the actual cult emblems of the devout Śāktas.

Representations of the goddess Gaṅgā, sometimes accompanied by the goddess Yamunā, are found among the old sculptures of the Valley,⁸ but they do not seem to have any particular cult associated with them.

Two similarly sculptured reliefs found in the Avantisvāmī temple have been generally interpreted as representations of the god Viṣṇu accompanied by Lakṣmī and another goddess

1. R. T., V, 426.

2. R. T. III, 83.

3. R. T., I, 37, IV, 325, V, 469, VIII, 2556; Alberuni, *India* (tr. Sachau), I, p. 117; *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*, XVIII, 5; Jonarāja (Bombay, Ed.), 1056-71,

4. Stein, R. T., (English Translation) Vol. II, p. 280.

5. R. T., I, 122, 330-335, 348, III-99.

6. Kak, *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir* p. 116.

7. R. T. (tr. R. S. Pandit) p. 20, foot notes.

8. Kak, *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir*, 120, 121, 124, 133.

(bhūmi)?¹ But according to Vogel the amorous attitude of the central personage and his attributes—a bow and an arrow ending in a flower, indicate that here we have an iconographic representation of Kāmadeva seated between his wives Rati and Priti.² Vogel's suggestion may or may not be correct, but there is literary evidence of Kāmadeva's popularity in ancient Kāśmīra. According to the Nilamatapurāṇa the 13th of of lunar Caitra was devoted to the worship of Kāmadeva.³

1. Sahni, *Ann. Rep. A. S. I.*, 1913-14, p. 46, pl. XXVII; Kak, *Ancient Monuments of Kashmīr*, p. 122.

2. *Ann. Bib. Ind. Art and Archaeology* (Leiden, 1933), p. 24.

3. *Nilamata* (ed. De Vreese), verses 655-658.

THE NEEDS OF THE HOUR

BY

Prof. Datto VamanPotdar.

I have come here in answer to the urgent and short-notice call from my friends Dr. Sinha and Dr. Kali Kinkar Datta. The Bihar Research Society is a learned association enjoying great reputation and to be called upon to preside over one of its Extraordinary Meeting is a great honour. Patna again is an ancient city of glory and its name bristles through the pages of our history. There are here some of the most precious remains of antiquity at Kumrahar, the site of Sher Shah's palace, the birth place of the great Guru Govind Singh, the Factory of the East India Company and such other objects of historical interests, only to mention a few, which just have come to my mind as I recall my two former visits to this historic city. The waters of the sacred Gangā wash the skirts of this city. The impressions produced on my mind by seeing and enjoying the magnificent art treasures of Shri Manuck and Shri Jalan are still quite fresh. These are really our national assets and must be treated as such. In the Patna University and the Bihar Research Society you have a band of scholars devoted to the cause of History.

Since receiving your call hardly a week ago, I set about thinking about the subject on which I should speak to such a learned audience : of late certain thoughts were revolving in my mind and the only thing I could do was to give vent to them.

Happily we are now a Sovereign Democratic Republic. We are also a Welfare State. We have, therefore, to fulfil all the obligations to justify our title to the same and play our role effectively. This is not a simple or ordinary task. It is stupendous.

Could we call in the aid of History for this great purpose ? Let us see. Now as far as our past history is concerned its

picture as depicted by our predecessors often makes disappointing reading. This is especially the case when we turn over the pages of our history of the last one thousand years or so. There are those who perhaps on this account, cast their eyes towards the very ancient period of our history. They are absorbed in glories of the Vedas and in the achievements of Buddha.

But when we come to the next stage, to the times when our great country became subject to the rule and domination of foreigners our spirits are depressed by reading the accounts of the successive setbacks received by our kings, our faiths and our peoples. We fought and fought bravely but eventually failed to keep our freedom. Our Gods even failed.

As centuries rolled on there was a sort of an adjustment. We were conquered but we were not dead. We still lived and even thrived. Our earstwhile conquerors made our country their home and they became in one way attached to the soil.

The question to be considered is whether the problems then created by the early invasions and inroads into our country and culture have been solved and we have become safe and secure.

The Islamic conquests were followed in their turn by the subtle mercantile intrusions, which ultimately enveloped the whole of India, conquered both the Hindus and Muslims and established not only their rule but their superiority. The British recently relinquished their rule over India. As free nation we have forgotten our previous embitterments or put them in cold storage and have become friends.

When, however, in the course of historical investigations, we study our past in the light of new evidence we secure through our researches, we are condemned because on the strength of fresh evidence discovered we either refute the accepted notions and are led to condemn one so long praised or praise another so long condemned. We are, therefore, disliked and attacked from certain quarters for opening and running old sores and enkindling fires long before extinguished.

As historians we must be votaries of truth and hence we urge that let truth speak out. We cannot play false to our mission and conceal truth. True, we certainly cannot so be. It must be, however, remembered that we must speak the *whole truth* for truth has many facets. All the facets must be exposed to view otherwise we exhibit a partial truth and do not hereby remain true to our purpose. Partial truths when given out always mislead and cause great havoc in society and damage the souls of peoples.

As a pursuit of truth many people like to study natural sciences. Truth sought through History is considered as of doubtful value. The Sciences called exact give a better account of themselves. But these people in the absence of a proper back ground, built-up by a study of Humanities become one-sided and often developing oblique complexes, plunge society into trouble.

Even if you do not pursue History, History pursues you still. If so, let it be such History as is the result of the pursuit of Truth. Since Man is not a mere animal but something more than that, he is a rational being, History has a place in his scheme of life. This scheme of life, in spite of the considerable amount of freedom and personal liberty based on fundamental human rights, has to be in certain broad lines consistent with the larger general life and pattern accepted and followed by the country.

The pattern accepted and solemnly adopted by us is the pattern of Welfare State, called the Sovereign Democratic Republic. And the question posed by me sometime before is 'whether History could help us achieving this goal? Alternatively we shall have to consider whether History would cause obstruction in our march towards our cherished goal.

The idea to 'bury the dead past' is a mere wish. We cannot over look our past. History would pursue us invisibly and in spite of ourselves. Why then not welcome History and be friend her? Why not look upon History as our "friend, philosopher and guide"?

We are fully aware of the numerous divisions, and differences

and conflicts and collisions through which we have passed so far. We have our castes and classes, our religious sects and sections, our conflicts of customs, our warring traditions, our prejudices and passions. We have besides, physical differences, philosophical differences and climatic or natural differences. These differences have been constantly emphasised upon us. Yet the potent fact is that we have lived and even survived in spite of these. When, however, we turn to the study of our History and undertake to increase our knowledge by further researches, we help in supplying abundant material likely to inflame and embitter. We assist to strengthen and revive the old consciousness, and thus serve as agents for widening the old gulfs and revitalising the causes of forgotten conflicts and interests. Admitting the possibility of this type of result from a study of History, we must admit that the study of History, also creates awareness of great achievements of the past and the noble and large hearted deeds recorded therein. Thus the study of History has two sides, one negative and the other positive. On the one it elevates and energises and, on the other, it embitters and estranges. But life itself has both these aspects and if history mirrors them, so long as it correctly and justly, it only serves the ends of truth.

Be that as it may, our present problem is to rest our new Sovereign Democratic Republic on solid and secure foundations. If from History we carry forth memories of injuries suffered in the past by one group of peoples by another and we fan the old enmities we only exacerbate. On the other hand, if we accept truth as truth and agree to forget and forgive, entertain no unholy desire to take revenge or to pay with interest and thus get our satisfaction that will not contribute to the process of making our new foundations strong. Merely asking us to shut our eyes to the past or to conceal the truth, or to whitewash what really happened as a fact will never induce us to forgive and forget and to work together in a hearty spirit for our common happiness and progress.

Times have changed; values of life have changed. Let us

see through history a new adjustment. Never sacrifice truth but change our emphasis to suit our urgent needs. Let us study History and direct our researches towards understanding and appreciating the good points of the other side. When truth is spoken, let us admit it honestly even if it is not pleasing to us. When a wrong done by one group to another is discovered let us justly condemn it as wrong, and make no attempt to prevaricate. Take your own time to study and to be convinced of the truth, call for more evidence, test the one brought forth to the severest scrutiny and in the end if you are not satisfied and do not concur, you are at liberty to differ. But let matters rest there. Let there be no further unhealthy projections of the same into the future.

Such thoughts have been revolving in my mind for a long time and were so after we became free because I see how effective steps are not being taken to guard against any unhappy results likely to flow from a wrong approach to History or when there is an attempt in that direction, there is an artificiality in it which is not worthy of worshippers of truth.

Today to build up a Democratic Republic serious work is going on to stamp out illiteracy and spread education among the masses. In our country inhabited by over thirty five crores of people this work of education would require thousands of schools and hundreds of teachers. Now what equipment would these hundreds of teachers possess in History in order to carry to the young students put in their charge the knowledge of our vast history in the proper perspective? These students and teachers are to constitute the bulk of the adult voters of our Sovereign Democratic Republic. From that will be drawn our local leaders. No wonder then if they succumb to demagogues who are likely to excite their sentiments for their selfish aggrandisement. Or else they might be driven like dumb cattle by some clever leaders. The power to judge, to weigh, to discriminate, to evaluate and form a true estimate which result from a real discipline secured by the study of History, they would hardly ever cultivate. This is a great danger; and

to remedy the same is to my mind a great need of the hour.

Apart from the elementary schools, is the position in our secondary or higher schools most satisfactory? And moreover what is the situation in our Colleges and our Universities from where we are to get our future leaders of thought? Our courses and syllabii are in many cases so drawn up as hardly to enable us to impart the required discipline in History. *A basic discipline in History must in my view form an essential ingredient of the education imparted to our youth, whether he opts out for Science or humanities.* Without such a discipline, his education is bound to be lopsided. As a result there would be an absence of the healthy and wholesome spirit which must be the possession of every citizen of our country.

Our History is not merely an account of conflicts and conquests. We have other achievements to our credit. Every part of the country has at one time or other made some noteworthy contribution either in the arts of war or the arts of peace. Our present need is to know each other better and more. Such of our doings as have little significance in the context of our new objectives must be relegated to their proper position. Such others on the otherhand, which deserve a better place and greater appreciation should get greater attention.

To illustrate what I mean, I shall cite the case of Maharaja Sawai Jai Sing of Jaipur. Thousands go to Delhi and see his great work on one of the high roads. But the popular name to this remarkable work is Jantar Mantar. We have even the Jantar Mantar Road. This name betrays our ignorance and is a proof of our wrong valuation and ignorance. The name of the great King who raised this great observatory is hardly known to the ordinary passer-by. It is our duty to bring out the full significance of this great achievement of the great man: this chain of observatories built by him must be brought to the notice of our citizens. The imagination which conceived this grand idea of a permanent observatory in brick and mortar deserves a high tribute. This glory of the achievement must not be confined to few pictures and dry

booklets. Its correct significance can be impressed when it is pointed out that Jai Singh took the help of Catholic missionaries and secured the latest astronomical and mathematical books printed in Europe. Not satisfied with this, he got prepared a book in Sanskrit wherein these advances were incorporated as Romaka Sidhanta. It would be for the Marathas a matter of legitimate pride to find some Maharashtra Jyotishis engaged by Jai Singh. Thus Jai Singh brought our knowledge of astronomy to the highest level-achieved in the the on world. His second remarkable achievement was the foundation of the most beautiful city of Jaipur. Traditions assign credit for this planning to a Bengali Pandit by name Vidyadhar. The first street in this city is 110 ft. broad : Imagine the grandeur of the conception.

Jai Singh went further. He brought together in Jaipur learned Brahmin Pandits from different parts of India. There were Bengalis, Maharashtrians, Dravids and others. To enable them to perform their duties in a calm and quiet manner he built a sort of colony for them near a lake and in his Brahmapuri we still see some of these families still residing in their houses, now in ruins : Did not Jai Singh show his breath of vision and mind in thus bringing together in one permanent colony Brahmins from different parts of India ? Could this not be considered a praise-worthy attempt ? Such Brahmapuris are to be found in other places also. Considered together, this must be considered as a desirable and integrating activity and suggest one reason how, in spite of differences, India remained one in mind and thought. Now the question is which part of Jai Singh's achievements deserves a better and longer notice in our present context, the role he played in party politics, his friendship with Bajirao or his great achievements noted above ?

To give another illustration. In the days of the first three Peshwas, a Maharashtra Brahmin who came to Satara from the South, subsequently rose to be the Vakil of the Peshwas at Srirangapattan. However it is not known that this man Banaji Madhav by name was a poet of considerable merit. His poetical

name was Niranjan Madhav. He was initiated into the mysteries of the spiritual lore and wrote five works, finishing some at Poona and some others at Srirangapattan. He unlocked a temple at Belur Channa Kehav. His Guru Barve was also one of the Gurus of Raja Shaha. Of this Laxmidhar Barve, Niranjan Madhav says that he equalled in poetry, Kalidasa and in Music, Gandharva. How closely are Karnatak and Maharashtra knit and some of our diplomats were devotees and poets.

The history of Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, Karnatak, Gujarat Punjab, Rajasthan, Malwa, Bundelkhand, Andhra, Tamilnad, Kerala, Assam and almost every other part of India would give us much instructive material, which when properly studied would show how each part and each people have made contribution and have left legacies which even in our present contact and this new age, may appear to possess a real meaning which when better known and understood would engender a feeling of love and respect for each other based upon a proper appreciation of the strong and weak points and of their achievements and their failures.

To achieve this, it is in my mind most necessary to study the different important languages and literatures in India. You cannot fully be one in spirit with Rajasthan without a study of Rajasthani. The whole bardic literature, both historical and literary, has to be studied thoroughly. For understanding Maharashtra history you would be well-advised to study the vast stores of documents and the great works of the Poet-saints of Maharashtra. What could you know of Assam if you are not able to study the Assamee Burangies? Of Orissa, if you do not know Oriya? And so on and so forth. That it is not given to one man to achieve so much. Of course, Persian, Portuguese, English and French and Sanskrit will have to be acquired in addition. The discipline of history is a severe discipline. We must make a concerted effort. This is why the Indian History Congress was founded.

We have our Research Associations but we do not seem to

have fully realised the need of studying sources in our own languages, however meagre or imperfect they may be or they may look to be. If this is granted, the basic requirements of both the teachers and students of history will have to be revised. This cannot be avoided and the sooner we move forward in the right direction the better. Our Universities and our learned associations and scholars have a great responsibility in this matter. All praise to them for what they have achieved but much more remains to be done.

Besides we shall have to go about, see the country and people. This field work has a great place in our discipline.

Where is our Military History? Our National Defence Academies have no military Histories of India. That is almost new ground. More work is needed in many other departments to make the History of our great country full and complete. We have to trust to our successors for this further work.

I will take this opportunity to put before you another very important need of the hour. We have our Five Year Plans and we are going ahead with them. These plans are also a need of the hour.

These plans include such undertakings as the building of great dams, clearing of slums, building new bridges, roads, opening new Railway lines, founding new big factories and industries. For all these works we require suitable situations including ground. In the case of big River Projects, for instance, hundreds of villages are going to be submerged. Except in the case of Nagarjuni Konda, nowhere have I heard a moment's thought given to the question, whether in the process of these new constructions and either the submerging or transferring of villages etc. many old, historical objects will not also suffer the same fate.

I am afraid this is bound to be the case. We want these great progressive works to be carried out. The attendant submerging or destruction seems unavoidable.

But I must submit that right at the start of the preliminary survey, historical and archaeological experts should be asso-

ciated with the work. Their advice should be taken. Objects likely to be removed should be removed. But in any case a good film depicting the existing situation in all its aspects must be taken so that the same should enable us to reproduce the old situation and enable scholars to study the old objects in their original setting. This is a very important question and requires immediate attention.

GUPTA GOLD COINS IN THE BAYANA HOARD

By

Dr. J. N. Banerjee

It was a great day for the study of Gupta numismatics when three children of the village of Nagla Chhela in the district of Bayana ((Bharatpur, Rajputana) accidentally discovered in 1946 a spouted copper vase containing a large number of Gupta gold coins in the eastern embankment of a low-lying field within the boundary of Hullanpura, a village to the east of their own. The authorities of the then Bharatpur State with commendable promptitude retrieved the greater portion of the hoard, as many as 1821 gold pieces, before the villagers could do major harm to it (about 285 coins had been appropriated by them in the meanwhile). This is the largest recorded find of such coins, the second largest being that of Kalighat containing more than 200 pieces, which was discovered as early as 1783 during the Governor-Generalship of Warren Hastings. All the other known hoards found at various places of Northern and Eastern India consisted of much lesser number of pieces. The Maharaja of Bharatpur took a personal and intelligent interest in the remarkable discovery within his State, and took very little time in communicating its importance to the learned world of Numismatists and Indologists. The present writer remembers how the Maharaja formally announced it before the assemblage of scholars during the annual sessions of the All India Numismatic Society and the Indian History Congress at Bombay in 1947. Another very right thing which he did after the discovery was to invite Dr. A. S. Altekar to Bharatpur and to entrust him with the task of preparing a scientific catalogue of the Bayana coins. He could not have chosen a better man for this work, since the days of Smith and Allan who made valuable contributions to the study of Gupta numismatics no other Indian and Western scholar

except the Chairman of the Numismatic Society of India had taken up the study of this subject with such zeal and earnestness. Some preliminary account of this hoard was published by Dr. Altekar in one of the earlier issues of the Society's Journal, and the present Catalogue which is being reviewed here published by the Numismatic Society of India in 1954 is the effort of several years of his painstaking and devoted study of the Bayana hoard of coins.

The biggest hoard of Gupta gold coins that has ever been discovered has some special features of its own. The Gupta monarchs who are represented in it by their coin-types are Chandragupta I, Samudragupta, Kācha, (who may or may not be the same as Samudragupta), Chandragupta II, Kumāragupta I and Skandagupta. The largest number of coins attributable to a single king in it is 983 issued by Chandragupta II, while the smallest number is one only issued by Skandagupta, the other kings Chandragupta I, Samudragupta, Kācha and Kumāragupta I being represented by 10, 183, 16 and 628 coins respectively. This fact led the author of the Catalogue to suggest correctly that the hoard was most probably buried early in the reign of Skandagupta. What might have been really the reason for this secretive act on the part of its ancient owner can only be a matter of conjecture. The treasure might have been secreted on account of the unsettled condition of the Gupta empire of the time, harassed by the foreign invaders, or perhaps due to internal troubles; it could also have been buried as a measure of safety from thieves and robbers as was the practice in ancient times. Whatever was the real reason for this concealment, we are grateful to its sometime possessor for his selective collection of the money of his time. Some of the types and varieties collected by him were hitherto unknown or little known to the students of Gupta numismatics, and they have greatly enhanced our knowledge of the subject. Among the numerous coins of Chandragupta II in this hoard one was found in which the Gupta monarch is shown in its obverse device as the direct recipient of the grace of Vishnu, the

god of his choice, the *viruḍha* given to him in its reverse being *Chakravikramah*. This is unique of its kind, and is a further corroboration of the deep Viṣṇubhakti of this mighty Gupta monarch. Kumāragupta I, his son and successor, is represented in this collection not only by such well-known types of his gold coins as, 'Archer', 'Swordsman', 'Horseman', 'Kārtikeya or Peacock', 'Tiger-slayer,' 'Elephant-rider' etc., but also by such hitherto unknown types as the 'King and Queen', 'Chhatra', 'Lyrst' and 'Rhinoceros-slayer' or by such little-known types of his as 'Elephant-rider Lion-slayer' and 'Apratigha' (one each of these two types were previously known, the second one in the collection of the British Museum was described by Allan in his *Catalogue* as 'Pratāpa', this being the legend on the reverse according to his reading; but the reverse legend seems to have been correctly read by Altekar as *Apratigha*, by which designation the type has been described by him). The one coin by which Skandagupta is represented in the hoard has a device on its obverse, *Chhatra*, which was not previously known. It should be observed in this connection that of the new types in this collection of Gupta gold coins, three or rather four types, viz. 'Chakravikrama', 'Rhinoceros-slayer', 'Apratigha' and 'Elephant-rider Lion-slayer', have no prototypes of their own. A large number of new 'varieties' of the known types of Gupta gold coinage have also been recognised in the Bayana hoard. Mention may only be made of the following 'the Garuḍadhvaja variety of 'Kācha', unknown varieties of the 'Archer' and 'Lion-slayer' types of coins of Chandragupta II, etc. Another special feature of the coinage in this hoard is that some of the coins in it contain new poetic hemistiches. It was Allan who first found out the metrical character of many of the Gupta coin legends, and he reconstructed the reading of a good many of them after carefully collating their fragments appearing on different specimens of the same type. His reconstructions have been mostly accepted by numismatists, and they show that the legends were set to some of the well-known metres used in classical Sanskrit poetry, such as 'Upagiti', 'Prthvi',

'Upajāti', 'Varṃsasthavilā', etc. Most of these legends have been substantiated by those read by Altekar on coins of the hoard, but some new ones such as 'Prithvītalāmvarasāṣī Kumāragupto jayatyajitah' (Kumāragupta I—'Hors emen' type, Variety A), 'Prithvītalesvarendrah Kumāragupto jayatyajitah' (*Ibid*, Variety E), 'Bhartā (?) Khadgatrātā Kumāragupto jayatyanīṣam, (Kumāragupta I—'Rhinoceros-slayer, type) could be read on them. It should be noted that it was Kumāragupta I who, though not the greatest Gupta emperor from the point of view of political and cultural considerations, was 'perhaps the greatest devotee of the science of numismatics in the Gupta dynasty', for it was he who was not only the issuer of the largest number of coin types, but also the introducer of many new varieties of coin legends.

Such being the interest and importance of the Bayana coins, it was very necessary that a requisite, elaborate and scientific catalogue of them should be prepared. Long after the illuminating and then exhaustive articles on Gupta numismatics were published by Smith in the pages of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* and the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, Allan published his *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties and of Śaśāṅka, King of Gauda*, in 1914, and this book remained the standard work on the subject since then. In between 1914 and 1946, the date of the discovery of the present hoard, only a few new types of Gupta gold coins were discovered, and our knowledge about this branch of Indian numismatics was advanced a little. But a scientifically written catalogue of this outstanding find was bound to supplement, if not partly replace, Allan's meritorious work. And it can be said without any hesitation that Dr. Altekar's *Catalogue of the Gupta Gold Coins in the Bayana Hoard* has done that. This sumptuously produced volume of about 555 pages (34+clviii+362) and 49 plates (Frontispieces+48) contains a good deal of new information which is necessary for a proper and up to date study of the subject. The author begins his work with a learned introduction in which he deals elaborately with such topics as 'the discovery

of the hoard and its importance' (not failing to refer to the earlier hoards), 'the history of the Gupta dynasty', 'its coinage and coin-types', 'the metrology of the coinage', 'the palaeography of the coin-legends', 'the symbols on the coins' and 'the costume, furniture and weapons depicted on the coins.' In the body of the *Catalogue*, he gives his readers not only a detailed and exhaustive description of all the various types and varieties of coins of the Gupta sovereigns represented in the hoard, but also a succinct account of the coinage of the successors of Kumāragupta I not represented in the hoard. A typewise description in detail of the male and female figures appearing on the coins of the hoard with special reference to the garments worn by them, the furniture on which they are seated and the weapons or attributes held by their hands is given by the author in the last few pages. In the eight appendices of the book are given a select bibliography, the known distribution of the hoard coins, the genealogical and chronological table of Gupta kings, index to types and motifs, index to symbols, a general index, a table showing the conversion of inches and grains into centimetres and grammes, and lastly the addenda and corrigenda unavoidable in a work of such magnitude. Thirty-two of the total number of plates in the book contain the illustrations of more than 450 coins selected on the basis of certain general principles and prepared and reproduced by the collography process in England. Five plates (XXXIII—XXXVII) illustrate the coin legends in their original script, eight plates (XXXVIII—XLV) contain the line-drawings of the varieties of costumes worn by the male and female figures in the coins, two plates (XLVI—XLVII), the same of the furniture and weapons appearing on them, and two (Frontispiece and XLVIII) reproduce the spouted copper vase, the original container of the hoard and the symbols on the Gupta coins. It can be said in one sentence that the learned author of the *Catalogue* has taken all possible matters into his consideration, which will facilitate the study of this fascinating branch of Indian numismatics.

The author in his neat presentation of the history of the

Gupta dynasty in the Introduction has treated the story of Rāmagupta with some caution. After appraising all the available data in questions he has admitted the paucity of convincing evidence about the historicity of the Rāmagupta episode, but yet he is inclined to accept its probability. The recent discovery of some copper coins with the partially legible name of Rāmagupta on them does not seem to have any direct bearing on the problem, for their issuer was most probably a petty ruler of some locality in Central India. His arguments in support of their attribution to the Rāmagupta of the story are not convincing. He has himself said, 'it is inexplicable why we should have so far found no gold coins of Rāmagupta, if he was a historic personage' (p. xxiv). Had Rāmagupta of the legends been a historical character, we should have expected to find at least one or two of his gold coins in the Bayana hoard; it can be argued, however, that the coin or coins of Rāmagupta might have been among those which could not be recovered. The author appears to have been in two minds about the problem, and his tentative assignment of the reign of Rāmagupta to a period between c. 370-375 A.D. is at best conjectural in character. It is not certain whether the name of the founder of the dynasty was Śrīgupta, as the author has taken it for granted. It is more likely that 'Śrī' in the word was the honorific prefix to the real name 'Gupta'. It need not be supposed that 'the goddess on lion' appearing on the reverse of the single type of coin issued by Chandragupta I (the author long ago criticised the attribution of these coins to Samudragupta by Allan, and he has now convincingly argued in favour of the previous view about their attribution to Chandragupta I) was the tutelary deity of the Lichchhavis. The author has himself pointed out that this motif occurs on some coins of Huvishka and Kanishka III, where, however, she was described by the Kushāṇa die-cutter as Nana or Nanaia. In the Gupta context she is none other than Umā or Durgā Sīṃhavāhinī (Allan had no justification in describing her as Lakshmi-Ambikā), and Umā was also reproduced in a different attitude on some copper coins of Huvishka (the reviewer pointed

out long ago how a cornucopia-carrying goddess figures on some copper coins of Huvishka in the collection of the Punjab Museum had been described by the die-cutter as OMMO). The author's quotation of some Vedic and epic passages to explain the features of the Aśvamedha type coins of Samudragupta is very apposite. The base of the *Yūpās* on this coin-device resembles the *pīṭhikā* of the images to a great extent; the object by the side of the queen, explained by Allan as the sacrificial spear, may more likely be the *sūchī* of the texts, but the same object on Kumāragupta I's Aśvamedha coins has flattened and curved top. The author's well-thought out observations of a technical character on the metrology and symbols of the Gupta gold coins deserve very careful study and consideration.

A few printing and other minor errors (some of which have been corrected in the corrigenda) do not at all minimise the great value of this scholarly work. The general get up and printing of the book is good, and the plates are generally good, though better results from their having been printed in collotype process in England could have been expected. All things considered the price (Rs. 60/-) may not be too high, but a little lesser price might have been helpful to the earnest but needy students and scholars. Whatever that may be, there is no doubt that Maharaja Sawai Brajendra Singhji's hope and trust that 'the work which he has been instrumental in publishing will materially advance the bounds of our knowledge in the field of Indology in general and Numismatics in particular' has been amply and adequately fulfilled.

प्राचीन तिब्बत में आयुर्वेद का प्रचार

आचार्य परमानन्दन शास्त्री

(Continued from Sept. 1954 issue)

तिब्बत में आयुर्वेदावतरण

उक्त पुस्तक ग्युदसी में तिब्बत में आयुर्वेदावतरण-क्रम बतलाते हुए लिखा मिलता है कि ख्रिस्तोङ्ग दिउरसन के काल में (ईसा की ८वीं वा ९वीं शताब्दी में) तिब्बती भाषांतरकार वैरोत्सन या वैरोचन ने इसे कश्मीर में बौद्ध पण्डित दवनोंगह् की सहायता से अनुवाद करके उक्त राजा को समर्पित किया। उस समय इसे प्रसिद्ध तिब्बती चिकित्सक यूथौग तथा अन्य कई विद्वानों ने ग्रहण किया। और तबसे वंशपरम्परा अवतरित होता हुआ बृद्ध यूथौग से प्रारंभ कर गिनने से १३वें वंशज यूथौग,—जिसने अपने को पृथक् परिगणित कराने के लिए अपना नाम 'नव यूथौग' रखा था, तक आया। इस बौद्ध ने इसमें बहुत-सा संशोधन-संबद्धन किया और इसका प्रसार किया। इस काल में, कहा जाता है कि, ९ व्यक्ति चिकित्साविज्ञान के पण्डित हुए थे।^{१७}

कहना न होगा कि यह चिकित्साशास्त्रावतरण परिपाटी भारतीय परिपाटी का सुन्दर अनुकरण है जो चरक, सुश्रुत आदि भारतीय आचार्यों के द्वारा प्रतिपादित शास्त्रावतरणक्रम से बिल्कुल साम्य रखती है। साथ ही पुराने यूथौग को बृद्धयूथौग की संज्ञा एवं नवीन यूथौग को नवयूथौग की उपाधि देकर पृथक्करण क्रम बृद्ध सुश्रुत—सुश्रुत, तथा बृद्ध-बाम्भट्ट के पृथक्करणेतिहास की ओर संकेत कर रहा है।

पुस्तक पर अमृतहृदयाष्टाङ्गगुह्योपदेश रूप संस्कृत नाम सूचक तिब्बती वाक्यावली भी एक प्रकार से भारतीय अष्टाङ्ग-हृदयसंहिता का स्मरण करा ही डालती है—चाहे उसके संबंध में यह निश्चय नहीं हो पाया है कि यह पृथक् कोई शास्त्र है वा मूल संस्कृत चतुस्तन्त्र का ही एक तंत्र अनूदित रूप में है।

तिब्बती शासक ख्रि-स्रोंङ दिउत्सन किंवा उसके कालके प्रधान चिकित्सक बृद्ध यूथौग का वास्तविक काल निर्धारण तिब्बती पुरातत्त्व एवं इतिहास के परिपक्व ज्ञाता, एवं कश्मीरी वैद्य पण्डित दवनोगंह का काल निर्धारण कश्मीर के पुरातत्त्व विद् ही निर्दुष्ट रूप से कर सकेंगे, परन्तु इस कथा में उद्दिष्ट वैरोचन तो अवश्य ही ध्यानि-बुद्ध के साम्प्रदायिक अनुयायियों में से रहे होंगे जिसकी चर्चा 'मोनियर विलियम' ने भी की है^{१८} और जिन्हें हम बौद्धग्रन्थ ललित-विस्तरा में नीलकायिक देवताओं में परिगणित पाते हैं।

भगवान् बुद्ध चतुस्तन्त्र के उपदेष्टा ?

तिब्बती चिकित्सा-शास्त्र के मूल ग्रन्थ 'ग्युद् सी' के मूलाधार संस्कृत चतुस्तन्त्र के संबंध में यह कहा जाना कि इसके उपदेष्टा भगवान् बुद्ध थे, कुछ विशिष्ट महत्त्व नहीं रखता। क्योंकि बौद्ध साहित्य का अनुशीलन करने वालों से यह बात छिपी नहीं है कि बौद्धधर्म के प्रचारक बौद्धसिद्धान्तों के प्रचार के साथ ही साथ बौद्धसंप्रदायानुमत भारतीय चिकित्साविज्ञान के सुन्दर सिद्धान्तों का भी प्रचार किया करते थे। फलतः, उनके द्वारा प्रचारित आयुर्वेद विज्ञान को भगवान् बुद्ध द्वारा उपदिष्ट कहकर, उनमें निष्ठा अधिक उत्पन्न करने के उद्देश्य से, प्रख्यात किया गया होना कुछ भी आश्चर्यजनक नहीं। यह भी संभव है कि भगवान् बुद्ध अपने शिष्यों को जो चिकित्साविज्ञान संबंधी उपदेश दिये रहे होंगे उन्हें उनके शिष्यों ने चारतन्त्रों में लिपिबद्ध कर दिये हों और उस ग्रन्थ को बौद्धसमाज में परममान्यता मिलने के चलते ही उसके अनुवादभूत तिब्बती ग्रन्थ ग्युद् सी को भी तिब्बत में सर्वोपरि मान्यता मिली हो।

भगवान् बुद्ध द्वारा उपदिष्ट एक चिकित्सासूत्र से सुप्रसिद्ध चीनी यात्री इत्सिंग (६७१-९५ ई०) ने उद्धरण देकर हमें यह मानने को भी विवश कर दिया है कि उनके भारत-भ्रमणकाल में भारत में बौद्ध-चिकित्सा-विज्ञान का भी प्रसार था और भगवान् बुद्ध द्वारा उपदिष्ट चिकित्सा-सिद्धान्त भी उन दिनों उपलब्ध थे।^{१९} भगवान् बुद्ध द्वारा औषधोपदेश किये जाने का प्रमाण पूर्वी तुर्किस्तानान्तर्गत तूङ्हाङ में स्टाईन महाशय द्वारा प्राप्त जिस प्राचीन पुस्तक की चर्चा डाक्टर हार्नेल ने की थी, उसमें प्राचीन ईरानी

१८. मोनियर विलियम्—बुद्धिज्म, पृ० २०२।

१९. तकाकुसु १. सी. १२६-४०५०; १२७ टिप्पणी; १३४; २२२ टिप्पणी।

भाषानुवाद के साथ जो मूल संस्कृत लेख भी हैं, जिसमें जीवक (जीवक कुमार भच्च ?) को संबोधित कर औषधोपदेश की चर्चा की है।”

बौद्ध साहित्य में भगवान् बुद्ध को ‘भेषज्य’ गुरु की संज्ञा दिया जाना भी पर्याप्त महत्त्व रखता है—भले ही वह ‘निर्वाण’ प्राप्ति के सरल उपाय प्रदर्शन करने के कारण ही उन्हें दी गयी हो।”

ग्युद् सी का संक्षिप्त परिचय

प्रकृत पुस्तक ग्युद्-सी के ४ भागों में प्रथम दो भागों में क्रमशः रोगाधिष्ठान और रोगायतन पर मीमांसा की गयी है, और शेष दो भागों में यथाक्रम भेषज चिकित्सा तथा शस्त्र कर्म का विधान है। पुस्तक के तिब्बती भाषा में भाष्य भी लिखे गये थे जिनमें ‘सङ्स-न्याद्-न्या-त्सो’ का लिखा ‘वैदूर्य पोङ्पो’ नामक भाष्य चिकित्सा-विज्ञान का चूड़ान्त ज्ञान प्राप्त करने की इच्छावाले छात्र पढ़ा करते। इस भाष्य की एक ब्लाक-प्रिण्ट कापी इण्डिया आफिस, लन्दन, के पुस्तकालय में संरक्षित है जिसके ४ खण्डों में क्रमशः ४०, २८३, ५६३ और २५० पृष्ठ हैं, और मुद्रण भी सुस्पष्ट है।

जहाँ तक प्रकृत पुस्तक के विषयों का संबंध है, यह मुक्तकण्ठ कहा जायगा कि इसके मूल संस्कृत ‘चतुस्तन्त्र’ के उपदेष्टा, या तो भगवान् बुद्ध नहीं माने जा सकते अथवा बुद्धोपदिष्ट ग्रन्थ में परवर्ती आचार्यों ने पूरण कर दिया होगा। कथमन्यथा “अहिंसा परमोधर्मः” के अनन्य उपासक भगवान् बुद्ध के उपदिष्ट रूप से कथित ग्रन्थ के अनुवाद ‘ग्युद्सी’ में शस्त्र-कर्म का उपदेश उपलब्ध होना संभव माना जा सकता है! यह तो सभी जानते हैं कि आदिम बौद्ध-युग में शस्त्रकर्म को प्रतिषिद्ध कर दिया जाना आयुर्वेद के शारीरविज्ञान के समुचित विकास में कितना बाधक बना था; और शस्त्रचिकित्सा के अनुपम उन्नायक आचार्य नागार्जुन को सुश्रुतसंहिता का प्रतिसंस्कार किस तरह करना पड़ा था! काश, किसी प्रकार इस अनुवाद

२०. आर. जी. भण्डारकर अभिनन्दन ग्रन्थ, भाग, १ पृ० ४१६; कश्मप-संहिता, निर्णयसागर, १९३८ ई०; उपोद्घात पृ० १७।

२१. महायान संप्रदाय के संस्कृत बौद्ध-ग्रन्थ स्वर्णप्रभास सूत्र के व्याधि-प्रशमन सूत्र पर सर्वाङ्ग पूर्ण अध्ययनात्मक निबन्ध भी तैयार हो रहा है जो निकट भविष्य में ही जर्नल के पाठकों के समक्ष उपस्थित किया जायगा।

के आधार पर संस्कृत चतुस्तन्त्र के पुनरुद्धार कराने की दिशा में केन्द्रीय या प्रान्तीय सरकार का चिकित्सा एवं जनस्वास्थ्य विभाग कोई ठोस कदम उठा पाता !

आयुर्वेदों की समानताएँ

यतोहि तिब्बती चिकित्सा विज्ञान का मूलाधार भारतीय आयुर्वेद विज्ञान माना जाता है, उसमें और भारतीय विज्ञान में सर्वविध समानताएँ उपलब्ध होना स्वाभाविक ही कहा जायगा; फिर भी पाठकों के सौकर्यार्थ यहाँ केवल थोड़े से उदाहरण देना आवश्यक मानता हूँ।

१. भारतीय आयुर्वेदशास्त्र के अनुसार शरीर के ७ मौलिक तत्त्व यथाक्रम रस, रक्त, मांस, मेदस्, अस्थि, मज्जा और शुक्र हैं; जिन्हें एक शब्द में धातु कहा जाता है। आयुर्वेद सिद्धान्तानुसार रससे रक्त, रक्त से मांस, मांस से मेदस्, मेदस् से अस्थि, अस्थि से मज्जा और मज्जा से शुक्र की उत्पत्ति मानी गयी है। तिब्बती मूल चिकित्सा ग्रन्थ 'ग्युद्सी' में भी रस, रक्त, मांस, मेदस्, अस्थि, मज्जा और शुक्र, ये सात शरीरधारक तत्त्व कहे गये हैं जिन पर जीवन आधृत रहता है।

२. भारतीय परम्परा के अनुसार वात, पित्त और कफ का शरीर में स्थान यथाक्रम पक्वाशय, आमाशय और छाती माना गया है। आचार्य चरक का कथन है कि वस्ति वा मूत्राशय, पुरीषाशय, कटि, जानु, पाँव और हड्डियाँ वायु के आश्रय स्थान हैं—इनमें पक्वाशय वायु का प्रधान आश्रय स्थान है। इसी प्रकार स्वेद, रस, लसीका, रक्त और आमाशय, पित्त के आश्रय स्थान हैं—इनमें आमाशय पित्त का प्रधान आश्रय-स्थान है। इसी प्रकार छाती, मस्तक, ग्रीवा, पर्वसमूह, आमाशय और मेदस् ये कफ के आश्रय-स्थान हैं—इन में भी छाती कफ का प्रधान स्थान है।^{१३}

तिब्बती-चिकित्सा-सिद्धान्त के अनुसार कफ का स्थान शरीर का ऊपरी

२२. तेषां त्रयाणामपि दोषाणां शरीरे स्थानविभागमनुव्याख्यास्यामः । तद्यथा—वस्तिः पुरीषाधानं कटी सक्थिनी पादावस्थीनि वातस्थानानि । तत्रापि पक्वाशयो विशेषेण वातस्थानम् । स्वेदो रसो लसीका रुधिर मांसाशयाश्चेति-पित्तस्थानानि । तत्राप्यामाशयो विशेषेण पित्तस्थानम् । उरः शिरोग्रीवापर्व-प्यामाशयो मेदश्च श्लेष्मणः स्थानानि । तत्रापि उरो विशेषेण श्लेष्मणः स्थानम् ।

—चरक, १, २०।

भाग, पित्त का मध्य भाग, तथा वायु का निम्न भाग माना जाता है। 'ग्युद्सी' के अनुसार कफ का आश्रय-स्थान छाती, जबड़े, रसना, मस्तक और सन्धि-स्थान हैं; पित्त का आश्रय-स्थान पेट-पक्वाशय और आमाशय के बीच में है; और वात का आश्रय-स्थान पञ्च प्राण वादानुसार मस्तक, छाती, हृदय तथा काय का निचला भाग है।^{३३} यही नहीं, भारतीय आयुर्वेद के सिद्धान्त के समान ही तिब्बती-चिकित्सा-विज्ञान के ग्रन्थों में भी वायु का प्रकोप बृद्धावस्थावालों में; पित्त का प्रकोप युवालों में; और कफ का प्रकोप बच्चों में बाहुल्येन होना बताया गया है।^{३४}

३. इसी प्रकार गर्भ में बच्चों की उत्पत्ति के सम्बन्ध में भी तिब्बती-चिकित्सा-विज्ञान का मत भारतीय आयुर्वेदिक विचारधारा से बिल्कुल मिलता-जुलता सा है। तिब्बतियों का मत है कि शरीर का निर्माण माता के रज, पिता के शुक्र और चैतन्य, इन तीनों के संयोग से होता है। इसमें यदि शुक्र की बहुलता हो तो पुत्र तथा रज की बहुलता होने पर पुत्री का जन्म होता है। यदि शुक्र और शोणित दोनों ही समान रहें तो नपुंसक की पैदाइश होती है। यदि रक्त दो भागों में बँट जाय तो यमज (जुड़वाँ) बच्चा पैदा होता है।^{३५} भारतीय आयुर्वेद में यह मत इतना प्रचलित है कि आचार्य चरक से लेकर भावमिश्र पर्यन्त ने अपनी संहिताओं एवं संग्रह ग्रन्थों में इसका विस्तृत विवरण लिखा है। प्रायः सभी संहिता एवं संग्रह ग्रन्थों में इसकी चर्चा विशद रूप से की गयी उपलब्ध होती है। यहाँ चरक संहिता^{३६} से इस संबंध के केवल ३ श्लोकों का उद्धरण देना अनवसरोचित नहीं ही होगा। श्लोक ये हैं:—

रक्तेन कन्यामधिकेन पुत्रं शुक्रेण तेन द्विविधीकृतेन।

बोजेन कन्यां च सुतं च सूते यथा स्वबीजान्यतराधिकेन ॥

शुक्राधिकं द्वैधमुपैति बीजं यस्याः सुतौ सा सहितौ प्रसूते।

रक्ताधिकं वा यदि भेदमेति द्विधा सुते सा सहिते प्रसूते ॥

२३. जर्नल, एसियाटिक सोसायटी, बंगाल, भाग ४; बाल्स का निबन्ध—
दी टिबेटियन अनाटोमिकल सिस्टम।

२४. वहीं पृ० ३।

२५. वहीं।

२६. चरक, शारीर, अ० २।

भिनन्ति यावद् बहुधा प्रपन्नः शुक्रार्त्तवं वायुरतिप्रबृद्धः ।

तावन्त्यपत्यानि यथा विभागं कर्मात्मकान्यस्ववशात् प्रसूते ॥

इस प्रकरण में यह भी कहना अप्रासंगिक नहीं होगा कि तिब्बती गर्भ-विज्ञान का गर्भ-सृजन में शुक्र-शोणित एवं आत्मा (चैतन्य) से उत्पन्न होने वाले अंग-प्रत्यंगों का वर्णन भी भारतीय आयुर्वेद के तत्संबंधी मत से सर्वथा मिलता-जुलता-सा है । तिब्बतियों का यही मत है कि शुक्र से हड्डियाँ, मस्तिष्क और कंकाल बनता है ; शोणित से मांस, रक्त, हृदय, फेफड़ा, यकृत, प्लीहा और वृक्क ये ४ प्रमुख अंग और ६ शिराएँ उत्पन्न होती हैं । आत्मा से चैतन्य होता है ।^{१०} आचार्य चरक का भी रूपान्तर से इसी प्रकार का मत प्रकट होता है ।^{१८}

तिब्बती चिकित्सकों की आचार्य परंपरा

तिब्बत में भी भारतीय चिकित्सकों की आचार्य परंपरा की भाँति एक अपनी परंपरा है जिसमें तिब्बत के प्रागैतिहासिक काल से ही नाता जोड़ा जा सकता है और उससे 'देवानांभिषजौ' नास्त्य और दक्ष को भी उसका एक आदिम आचार्य के रूप में संबद्ध किया जा सकता है । परन्तु यह कहना भी अनुचित नहीं होगा कि प्रायः यहाँ के प्रत्येक राजवंश से कुछ एक चिकित्सकों का संबंध किसी-न-किसी रूप में उपलब्ध होता है जिनकी लम्बी तालिका यहाँ देना अपेक्षित भी नहीं और संभव भी नहीं । वहाँ बौद्ध-धर्म के प्रसार के बाद से भी बृद्ध यूथौग से नव्य यूथौग तक की परम्परा ही १३ आचार्यों की है और तिब्बती बौद्ध विहारों में भी अपने-अपने पृथक् चिकित्साचार्य उपलब्ध होते हैं । इनकी भी विशद तालिका देना यहाँ असंभव है । फिर भी तिब्बत के प्राचीन चिकित्सा-विज्ञान के विद्यालयों में पाठ्य रूप से उपलब्ध शारीर चित्र के ऊपर जिन १२ प्रसिद्ध

२७. एशियाटिक सोसायटी. बंगाल का जर्नल, भाग ४; बाल्स का उक्त निबन्ध ।

२८. त्वक् च लोहितं च मांसं च मेदश्च नाभिश्च हृदयं च क्लोम च यकृच्च प्लीहा च वृक्कौ च वस्तिश्च पुरीषाधानं चामाशयश्चोत्तरगुदं चाधरगदं च क्षुद्रान्त्रं च स्थूलान्त्रं च वपा च वपावहनं चेति मातृजानि । ...केशश्मश्रुनखलोम दन्तास्थिशिरास्तायुधमन्यः शुक्रमिति पितृजानि । ...तासु तासु योनिषत्पत्ति-रायुरात्मज्ञानं मन इन्द्रियाणि प्राणापानौ प्रेरणधारणमाकृतिस्वरवर्णविशेषाः सुखदुःखे इच्छाद्वेषौ चेतना धृतिर्बुद्धिः स्मृतिः रहंकारः प्रयत्नश्चेत्यात्मजानि ।

—चरक, शारीर, अ० ३ ।

चिकित्सकों का चित्र अंकित उपलब्ध हुआ है उसमें के १२ चिकित्साचार्यों का संक्षिप्त परिचय यहाँ दिया जा रहा है।

उक्त चित्र में सर्वप्रथम चित्र है दवाई बाङपो का और अन्तिम चित्र है लिङ् सोङ् के लो-जङ्-ग्या-त्सो का।

नामावली इस प्रकार है:—

१. प्रसिद्ध आचार्य दवाई बाङपो।
२. ऋत्सदीन के आचार्य लो-जङ्-ग्या-त्सो। यहाँ यह स्मरणीय है कि ऋत्सदीन एक विहार है जो ग्यान्त्से के निकट में है। कहा जाता है कि इसी स्थान में इनका जन्म हुआ था।
३. ऋषि-तन्-द्जिन-ग्याल्-पो।
४. उत्तरी रेगिस्तान के आचार्य खस्-वाङ्।
५. सर्वज्ञ विद्वान् मन्-गोम्-पा।
६. आचार्य लो-छौग-दो-जे।
७. सिद्धान्ताचार्य सर्व द्ज्वाह, (सर्वज्ञ)।
८. साह्-क्य-वङ्-प्युग्।
९. सूद्-नम्स्-ग्याल्-पो।
१०. ऋत्सदीन के आचार्य लो-जङ्-ग्या-त्सो।
११. आचार्य तङ्-द्जिन-ग्याल्-पो।
१२. लिङ्-स्त्रोङ् के लो-जङ्-ग्या-त्सो।

उक्त चित्र में साह्-क्य-वङ्-प्युग् के चित्र के ऊपर यह लिखा मिलता है कि यहाँ से जिङ्-पो-दुस्-पा के वंशज प्रारंभ होते हैं। यह भी कहा जाता है कि उक्त जिङ्-पो-दुस्-पा एक प्रसिद्ध लामा चिकित्सक थे। चित्र के १०म आचार्य द्वितीय आचार्य के नाम के और ११म आचार्य ३य आचार्य के ही नाम के ही हैं। तिब्बती लोगों का यह भी विश्वास है कि ये दोनों उक्त दोनों पूर्ववर्ती आचार्यों के ही अवतार हैं।^{११} यह सर्वथा संभव है कि उक्त सप्तम आचार्य सिद्धान्ताचार्य सर्व द्ज्वाह (सर्वज्ञ) के बाद से एक नयी परम्परा चली हो। जो भी हो, यह परंपरा एक विशिष्ट परम्परा है जिस पर पृथक् विशिष्ट रूप से प्रकाश डालना समुचित होगा।

तिब्बत में शारीर-विज्ञान

प्राचीन तिब्बत में शारीर-विज्ञान वा शरीर रचनाशास्त्र किस प्रकार का प्रचलित था उसका संक्षिप्त पता इस निबन्ध के पहले निदर्शनों से भी किञ्चित् स्पष्ट होता ही है। किन्तु तिब्बत के चांग्-पो-रो विहार तथा इससे संबद्ध अन्य विहारों में श्री ई० एच्० सी० वाल्स को जो एक शारीर-प्रदर्शक चित्र मिला था उससे तिब्बती शारीर-विज्ञान वा शरीर रचनाशास्त्र संबंधी विषयों पर पर्याप्त प्रकाश पड़ता है। कहा जाता है कि वहाँ के प्रत्येक चिकित्सक को यह पढ़ना पड़ता था। यह चार्ट ब्रिटिश तिब्बत मिशन के प्रधान मेडीकल अफसर कर्नल एल्० आस्टिन वेडेल M.S. ने प्राप्त किया था। आपने अपने ग्रन्थ “लासा ऐण्ड इट्स मिस्ट्रीज्” में अपने इस यात्रा प्रसंग का वर्णन किया ही है,^{३०} साथ ही वहाँ के विविध विषयों पर भी पर्याप्त प्रकाश डाला है। यद्यपि ऐसा कहा जाता है कि उक्त चांग्-पो-रो विहार तथा उससे संबद्ध मेडीकल स्कूल यद्यपि पञ्चम दलाई लामा के प्रधान मंत्री सङ्-ग्यास्-ग्या-त्सो (१६४०-८० ई०) ने बनवाया था, परन्तु परम्परा अनुश्रुति यही है कि उक्त प्रधान मंत्री ने विहार का निर्माण नहीं किया था, प्रत्युत ६५० ई० के आस-पास तिब्बत में बौद्ध-धर्म के प्रचार के प्रारंभिक समय में ही राजा स्रोङ्-त्सान्-गम्पो द्वारा ही इस विहार की नींव पड़ी थी—केवल जीर्णोद्धार ही उसका सङ्-ग्यास्-ग्या-त्सो ने किया था।^{३१} वाल्स को यह भी ज्ञात हुआ था कि प्रकृत चित्र कोई नया नहीं, अपितु पुराने परम्परा प्रचलित चित्र का ही अनुकृति मात्र है। यदि वाल्स की यह धारणा सत्य हो (जिसे असत्य होने का कोई कारण अब तक प्रकाश में नहीं आ सका है) तो यह निःसंकोच कहा जायगा कि यह चित्र तिब्बत में सर्व प्रथम उद्भावित नहीं हुआ था; प्रत्युत बौद्धकालीन भारत में प्रचलित शारीर चित्र की अनुकृति बौद्धधर्म के प्रचारकों ने अपने साथ ले जाकर वहाँ प्रचलित कर रही थी। भारतीय आयुर्वेद के आचार्यों द्वारा आदिमकाल से ही जिस प्रकार की शरीर रचना सम्बन्धी बातें विशदरूप से बतायी गयीं मिलती हैं उनके बल पर भी तो यह सत्य अनुमान किया ही जा सकता है कि भारतीय आयुर्वेद के धान्वन्तर एवं आत्रेय सम्प्रदाय के जो विद्यालय वा शिक्षा-संस्थान प्राचीन तक्षशिला, नालन्दा आदि स्थानों में थे वहाँ सौकर्याथ आज की भाँति चित्रों के द्वारा रहस्य सिद्धान्तों के पाठन की व्यवस्था अवश्य ही रही होगी।

३०. लासा ऐण्ड इट्स मिस्ट्रीज्, पृ० ३७६-७९.

३१. वाल्स—बी टिबेटियन अनाटोमिकल सिस्टम, पृ० १२९७.

यह भी तो पिछले हजार वर्षों के इतिहास के अध्ययन से जाना ही जा सकता है कि धर्मान्ध दान आक्रान्ताओं ने जिस प्रकार हमारे शिक्षा-संस्थानों, मठों-मन्दिरों को व्यापक रूप से विध्वस्त करना जारी रखा था उसके फलस्वरूप हमारे देश में वैसे चित्रों का सर्वथा अभाव हो चला हो। जो भी हो, यहाँ तिब्बती शारीर चित्र आयुर्वेद के जिज्ञासुओं के लिए एक अवश्य मननीय वस्तु है जिसमें १२१ संख्यक चित्र देकर मूलाधार से ब्रह्मरंध तक प्रदर्शित हुआ है और प्रदर्शित हुए हैं। मस्तक, गला, हृदय, नाभि, स्नायु, शिरा, घमनी, मांस-पेशियाँ, फेफड़े, यकृत, प्लीहा, वृक्क, आमाशय, पक्वाशय, शुक्राशय, अस्थिकंकाल आदि प्रत्येक शरीर रचना शास्त्रोक्त वस्तुएँ—वह भी बहुत ही स्पष्टता और सुन्दरता के साथ। यह सबसे बड़ी बात है कि इतने प्राचीन चित्र में फेफड़े का सुस्पष्ट चित्रण तो है ही, साथ-साथ दाएँ और बाएँ दोनों ही फेफड़े की अगली-पिछली कर्णिकाओं (लोबों) का भी सुस्पष्ट चित्रण है।

कहना न होगा कि फेफड़े के सम्बन्ध में कई एक पाश्चात्य गवेषकों की यह भ्रान्त धारणा रही है कि आयुर्वेद में फेफड़े की उपेक्षा हुई है। इस धारणा की पुष्टि में वे चरक, सुश्रुत आदि आर्ष आयुर्वेद ग्रन्थों में क्लोम का उल्लेख नहीं रहना बताते हैं। इस सिलसिले में यह कहना कि श्रीजौल्ली के द्वारा भारतीय आयुर्वेद का सर्वे करते समय १४ हजार पारिभाषिक शब्दों की सूची बनाने पर भी उन्हें फेफड़े का कोई नाम नहीं मिला, सर्वथा आश्चर्यजनक है।^{३२} स्यात् उन्हें यह भ्रान्त धारणा शारीरविचयाध्याय में अंग-प्रत्यंगों के निर्देश के अवसर पर क्लोम के नहीं मिलने के कारण बँध गयी है। परन्तु उन्हें तो यह स्मरण रखना चाहिए था कि इन संहिता ग्रन्थों के समय-समय पर प्रतिसंस्कार हुए हैं। जिनमें प्रतिसंस्कर्ता के दोष से शारीर विचयाध्याय में क्लोम का उल्लेख कहीं रह सका है। और उन्हें शारीर स्थान के अन्य अध्यायों में भी क्लोम का अन्वेषण करना उचित था। यदि वे ऐसा कर लेते तो स्यात् उन्हें उक्त प्रकार की भ्रमात्मक धारणा नहीं बँध पाती। क्योंकि चरकसंहिता में भी, जो चिकित्सा के लिए अत्युपादेय है, क्लोम का उल्लेख स्थान-स्थान पर मिलता है।^{३३}

३२. श्रीभर का हिन्दू मेडीसिन, पृ० १६१-६२ अन्यथा प्रतिपादित।

३३. चरक संहिता खुड्डीका गर्भावक्रान्ति शारीर अध्याय ३ में भरद्वाज का मत—कि गर्भ मातृज, पितृज, आत्मज और सात्म्यज नहीं, और मन उसका उपपादक नहीं—का खण्डन करते हुए आत्रेय के मत से मातृज शारीर

विशेषाध्ययन उपेक्षित

मेरे विचार में उक्त शारीर चित्र का जो विवरण श्रीबाल्स ने अपने निबन्ध में दिया है वह अपूर्ण एवं सदोष है। क्योंकि जिस तिब्बती चिकित्सक ने इस शारीर चित्र का विवरण उन्हें बताया था उसे ही उक्त चित्र के संबन्ध में पूरी जानकारी नहीं थी। बाल्स ने स्वयं लिखा है कि उन्हें उक्त चिकित्सक ने कहा था कि चित्र में जहाँ चिह्न कर उसकी संख्या दी हुई है वह एक चिकित्सा ग्रन्थ की संख्या है जिसमें उस अंग या प्रत्यङ्ग का पूरा विवरण दिया हुआ है; किन्तु उसे उस समय उस ग्रन्थ का नाम ही स्मरण में नहीं आ रहा था।^{१४} बाल्स ने यह भी

पदार्थों की गणना करायी गयी है। वहाँ लिखा है:—त्वक् च लोहितं च मांसं च मेदश्च नाभिश्च हृदयं च क्लोम च यकृतं च प्लीहा च बुक्की च वस्तिश्च पुरीषाधानं चामाशयश्च पक्वाशयश्चोत्तरगुदं चावरगुदं च क्षुद्रान्त्रं च स्थलान्त्रं च वपाच वपावहनं चेति मातृजानि। यहाँ यह भी नहीं भूलना चाहिए कि चेतनाधिष्ठान हृदय के बाद ही क्लोम का उल्लेख है जो उसकी प्रमुखता का ही प्रत्युत पोषण करता है। वहीं शारीर संख्या नाम शारीराध्याय (७) में १५ कोष्ठाङ्गों का निर्देश करते समय “हृदयञ्च क्लोमच..” रूप से फेफड़े का स्पष्ट निर्देश है।— देखें—चरकसंहिता, कविराज सतीशचन्द्रशर्मा संस्करण, १३११ साल, कलकत्ता, पृ० ५०९, ५४४। क्लोम का उल्लेख चरक में ही केवल नहीं अपितु सुश्रुत संहिता में भी है और मारीचकश्यपेक कश्यप संहिता वा बृद्ध जीवकीय तन्त्र में भी गर्भावक्रान्ति शारीराध्याय में चरक के समान ही “...हृदयं च क्लोम च...मातृजानि” कहते हुए हृदय के बाद ही क्लोम का निर्देश है और थोड़ा और आगे बढ़कर श्लोकों के द्वारा हृदय, यकृत, प्लीहा, फुफ्फुस की उत्पत्ति बतलाते हुए लिखा मिलता है कि “शोणिताद्दृढं तस्य जायते हृदयाद्यकृतं। यकृतोजायते प्लीहा प्लीहाः फुफ्फुसमुच्यते ॥५॥ परस्पर निबन्धानि सर्वाण्येतानि भागव !—कश्यपसंहिता, पृ० ४८-४९। उपरोक्त उद्धरणों से यह सर्वथा स्पष्ट है कि आत्रेय, धन्वन्तरि एवं कश्यप वा बृद्ध जीवक सम्प्रदाय किंवा ऐसा कहें कि भरद्वाज से अतिरिक्त प्रायः प्रत्येक आचार्य की संहिता वा मत में क्लोम का परिगणन है। पता नहीं, जौल्ली को १४ हजार पारिभाषिक शब्दों के संचयन काल में क्लोम क्यों नहीं मिल सका था !

३४. जर्नल, रायल एशियाटिक सोसायटी, लन्दन, १९१०, पृ० १२२४।

लिखा है कि तिब्बती शारीर विज्ञान का मूल ग्रन्थ 'ग्युद्सी' है ।^{३५} और उस ग्रन्थ में इस चित्र की चर्चा है ।^{३६} संभवतः बाल्स को जो तिब्बती चिकित्सक मिला था वह उक्त चांग-पो-री विहार के अधीन चिकित्सा विज्ञान-विद्यालय का स्नातक नहीं था, और उसने अपनी प्रतिष्ठा स्थापित करने के उद्देश्य यह कूट से प्रचार किया हो कि उसने अपनी शारीर-चित्र की कॉपी नेपाल सीमा पर बेच दी थी । इसलिए जब तक कोई भारतीय आयुर्वेदज्ञ इस क्षेत्र में जाकर तिब्बती चिकित्सा ग्रन्थों का फिर से अनुशीलन-अनुसन्धान कर उक्त शारीर-चित्र पर विशेष प्रकाश नहीं डाले तब तक इस चित्र की प्रकृत व्याख्या (बाल्स प्रतिपादित) सर्वथा संगत नहीं मानी जानी चाहिए ।

चित्र की विशेषता

यद्यपि प्रकृत चित्र की विशेषताओं के सम्बन्ध में ऊपर पर्याप्त लिखा जा चुका है फिर भी यहाँ यह अवश्य कहा जायगा कि हृदय को चैतन्य का अधिष्ठान मानना और इस सिद्धान्त की पुष्टि में हृदय से संबन्ध ५ ज्ञान वहा नाड़ियों का भी स्पष्ट निर्देश करना इसकी सबसे बड़ी विशेषता है । आयुर्वेद के मत से चेतना-अधिष्ठान होने के कारण हृदय ही मुख्य-इन्द्रियाधिष्ठान माना जाता है । यद्यपि पाश्चात्य शारीरज्ञों द्वारा मस्तिष्क को इन्द्रियाधिष्ठान के रूप में जानना भी कोई नवीन सिद्धान्त नहीं है । क्योंकि सर्वप्रथम भरद्वाज मुनिने मस्तिष्क को इन्द्रियाधिष्ठान के रूप में देखा था और उसीके बूते पर शरीर में सर्वप्रथम शिर की उत्पत्ति होना भी बतलाया था । परन्तु 'चेतना धातु' आत्मा के मुख्याधिष्ठान होने और सभी अंगों का मूल एवं कतिपय भावों का अधिष्ठान होने के कारण हृदय को शरीर में मुख्य अंग एवं एकमात्र चेतनाधिष्ठान के रूप में आत्रेय एवं धन्वन्तरि दोनों ही सम्प्रदाय के आचार्यों ने माना है ।^{३७}

कहना न होगा कि इस प्राच्य एवं पाश्चात्य विवेचनापद्धति के मौलिक विभेद पर परिहासात्मक टिप्पणी करते हुए एक प्यूब्लो प्रधान ने डाक्टर सी० जी० जंग (ज्यूरिख) से कहा था कि 'आप गोरे लोग माथे से सोचते हैं। यही आपकी न्यूनताओं का कारण है । हम तो हृदय से सोचा करते हैं ।'^{३८}

३५. वहीं पृ० १२१८।

३६. वहीं पृ० १२१७ टिप्पणी।

३७. सुश्रुत संहिता, ३, ४; चरक संहिता, ४, ६-७.

३८. श्रीमर का हिन्दू मेडीसिन, पृ० १६४.

तिब्बत के चिकित्सोपयोगी शस्त्र

तिब्बत में भी भारतीय-चिकित्सा-विज्ञान के अनुरूप ही शस्त्र-चिकित्सा एक मुख्य चिकित्साज्ञों में से है और उसके कई प्रकार के यन्त्र भी उनके चिकित्सा पुस्तकों में उल्लिखित मिलते हैं।

श्री शरत्चन्द्र दास ने लासा से कुछ ब्लाक प्रिण्ट लाकर कलकत्ता बुद्धिस्ट टेक्स्ट सोसाइटी के जर्नल^{३९} में प्रकाशित कराया था जो उन्हें घूम (दार्जिलिंग के समीपस्थ) विहार से प्राप्त हुआ था। इन प्रकाशित ब्लाक प्रिण्टों में बहुतेरे शल्य चिकित्सोपयोगी यन्त्र हैं जिनमें आरियाँ, स्पेक्यला, सलाई (पेशाब इ. की), पर्यवेक्षण सूइयाँ, मुष्क (अण्डकोष) व्यधन के उपयोगी यन्त्र तथा धात्री विद्या एवं अन्य उपयोगी चिमटे आदि कई-एक यन्त्र प्रमुख हैं। शृङ्गा-कृति, धान्य मुख, पक्षितुण्ड, पशुतुण्ड आदि की आकृति वाले यन्त्रों का वर्णन भी तिब्बती शल्य चिकित्सा-पुस्तकों में मिलता है।^{४०} श्री बाल्स के अनुसार १९ वीं शताब्दी तक तिब्बती शल्य चिकित्सा में चूषण, अग्निकर्म, तथा रक्त स्रावण मुख्य थे। उन्हें यह भी पता चला था कि चूषण के लिए तुम्बी-जलौका आदि का प्रयोग, रक्तस्रावण के लिए नश्वर की छुरी तथा आँख के ऑपरेशन के लिए स्वर्ण-शलाका का उपयोग होता था।^{४१}

उपसंहार

कहना न होगा कि प्रकृत लेख से संक्षेप में यह प्रमाणित होने में कुछ कसर नहीं रह जायगी कि प्राचीन तिब्बत में भारतीय आयुर्वेद का व्यापक प्रचार था और मध्ययुग में तो वहाँ भारतीय आयुर्वेद के ग्रन्थों का ही एक प्रकार से बोल-बाला रहा और उसके आधार पर यह भी मानना अनुचित नहीं होगा कि आधुनिक युग की तिब्बती चिकित्सा पद्धति पर भी उसकी छाप पड़ी हुई है जिसके सम्बन्ध में दूसरे निबन्ध में सविस्तर प्रकाश डालने का प्रयत्न करेंगे।

३९. जर्नल, बुद्धिस्ट टेक्स्ट सोसायटी, कलकत्ता, १८९४, भाग २, खंड ३, पृ० ९-१०।

४०. जूलियस जौल्लीकृत मेडीसिन का काशीकर कृत अंग्रेजी अनुवाद, पृ० २५.

४१. बाल्स का पूर्वोक्त निबन्ध (समापक अंश)।

KĀLIDĀSA, HĀLA SĀTAVĀHANA AND CANDRA- GUPTA II.

By

S. V. Sohoni

Contrary to definitions of Vaidarbhi style, which admittedly reached its finest expression in Kālidāsa's writings, and against a mass of evidence, it was suggested even by Keith¹ that the *double entendre* was not at all in Kālidāsa's manner. *Ślesha* or *double entendre* has, in fact, been placed foremost among the peculiarities of this style—consistently, by every writer on *alaṅkāra*. Bhoja in his *Saraswatī-Kaṇṭhābharaṇam* has defined *ślesha* as—

“एकरूपेण वाक्येन द्वयोर्भणनमर्थयोः ।

तन्त्रेण यत्स शब्दज्ञैः श्लेष इत्यभिज्ञादितः ॥

That Kālidāsa puns, is well known.² Ancient literary appreciation of his poetry recognised in it a general position of less apparent meanings—

(१) कालिदासवचः कुत्र व्याख्यातारो वयं क्व च ।

तदिदं मन्ददीपेन राजवेश्म प्रकाशनम् ॥

—वल्लभदेव (11th Cent A.D.)

(२) अस्पृष्टदोश नलिनीव दृष्टा हारावलीव ग्रथिता गुणौघैः ।

प्रियांकपालीव विमर्दहृद्या न कालिदासादपरस्य वाणी ॥

—श्रीकृष्णकवि (11th Cent. A. D.)

(३) कालिदासगिरां सारं कालिदासः सरस्वती ।

चतुर्मुखोऽथवा साक्षाद् विदुर्नान्ये तु मादृशाः ॥

—मल्लिनाथ (14th Cent. A. D.)

In this essay, I propose to examine the following stanza from the *Cloud Messenger*—

हित्वा हालामभिमत रसां रेवतीलोचनां काम् ।

बन्धुप्रीत्या समरविमुखो लांगली याः सिषेवे ॥

1. Keith's *Sanskrit Drama*, p. 145.

2. *Mahārāṣṭra Sāhitya Patrikā*, 1928 pp. 227ff.

कृत्वा तासामभिगममपां सौम्य सारस्वतीना-

मन्तः शुद्धस्त्वमपि भविता वर्णसात्रेण कृष्णः ॥

This verse has been translated by Arthur Ryder as—

“Sweet friend, drink where those holy waters shine

Which the plough-bearing hero-loathe to fight

His kinsmen-rather drank than sweetest wine

With a loving bride’s reflected eyes alight

Then, though thy form be black, thine inner soul is bright.”

I venture to submit that this stanza is not only a perfect example of *ślesha*—of how the highest art could furnish for itself a complete mask, it is also a stanza of very considerable significance and value to a correct appreciation of Kālidāsa’s literary genius.

The crucial words discussed are—

हाला, सारस्वतीनाम्, अपाम्, अभिमतरस, अभिगम, सौम्य, वर्ण and कृष्ण ।

Hālā is an equivalent of *surā* meaning, wine. Ksheeraswāmi in his *Teekā* on *Amara Kosha* explains this word as:—
जहाति लज्जामनया हाला । हलति विलिखति वाङ्गम् । (अमरकोष II. 10. 40)

But a far more fundamental meaning was intended by Kālidāsa, viz. Prākṛit poetry, particularly, that suggested by Hālā’s, anthology. Mallinātha appropriately quotes, “अभियुक्त देशभाषा पदमित्यत्र सूत्रे हाला इति देशभाषापदमप्यतीव कविप्रयोगात् साधु ।” Yet curiously enough, this reference was not pursued by him. The reference is to Vāmana’s *काव्यालंकारसूत्राणि* (V. 1. 13) where he says, “अतिप्रयुक्तं देशभाषापदम्” and comments, “अतीव कविभिः प्रयुक्तं देशभाषापदं योज्यम् । यथा—‘योषिदिति अभिललाष न हालाम् ।’ इत्यत्र हाला इति देशभाषापदम् ।”

This is the principal conclusion—and it is hoped that its consequences would be adequately followed. Vāmana was an original thinker who lived¹ long before either Mallinātha, Dakṣiṇāvartanātha, Vallabhadeva or even Sthiradeva. He lived between 750 and 800 A. D. and has quoted freely from Kālidāsa for illustrating his theories.

1. Dr. P. V. Kāpe’s *History of Sanskrit Poetics*, pp. 138-139.

The very example selected by him viz. “योषिदित्यभिललाष न हलाम्” is important for understanding this word, ‘Hālā’. Prākṛit poetry has *invariably* claimed that it was devoted to erotic sentiment and was better fitted than Sanskrit poetry for being read by the fair sex:—

(a) In the Gāthā Saptaśati, it has been proudly asserted—

अमृतं प्राकृतं काव्यं पठितुं श्रोतुं च ये न जानन्ति ।

कामस्य तत्त्वचिन्तां कुर्वन्तस्ते कथं न लज्जन्ते ॥

(b) In the Vajjālagga, it has been claimed—

ललिते मधुराक्षरे युवतिजनवल्लभे सभृङ्गारे ।

सति प्राकृतकाव्ये कः शक्नोति संस्कृतं पठितुम् ॥

(c) In the Karpūramanjari of Rājaśekhara also it has been asserted,—

पुरुषाः संस्कृतबंधाः प्राकृतबन्धोऽपि भवति सुकुमारः ।

पुरुषमहिलानां यावदिहान्तरं तावदेतेषाम् ॥

What is probably more important to be recalled in this connexion, is Kālidāsa's own view so clearly stated in his Kumāra-Sambhavam viz.

द्विधा प्रयुक्तेन च वाङ्मयेन सरस्वती तन्मिथुनं नृणां ।

संस्कारपूतेन वरं वरेण्यं वधूः सुखप्राह्मणबन्धनेन ॥

The other important word in this stanza is **संस्कारपूतम्** i.e. appertaining to Saraswatī. There is a crystal clear *double entendre* employed in connexion with it. I would note that this is by no means a rare implication—one comes across several instances of a play on this word in Sanskrit literature. One instance may suffice, from that ślesha stylist *par excellence*, Subandhu, who says in his introduction to Vāsavadattā,

सा रसवत्ता विहता नवका विलसन्ति चरति नो कंकः ।

सरसीव कीर्तिशेषं गतवति भुवि विक्रमादित्ये ॥

In Kumāra-Sambhavam VII. 90, Kālidāsa has clearly stated the relatively conspicuous features of Sanskrit and Prākṛit poetry in pointing out that Sanskrit literature was **संस्कारपूत**, purified; and that, Prākṛit literature was agreeable to a bride as it was easier of appreciation and more productive of pleasure.

And elsewhere too e. g. in the Raghuvansa, Viṣṇu replies to the gods in Sanskrit; and Kālidāsa observed—

“पुराणस्य कवेस्तस्य वर्णस्थानसमीरिता।

बभूव कृतसंस्कारा चरितार्थैव भारती ॥”

Another example may be cited from the Kumāra-Sambhavam in a comparable context, when Brahmā replied to the gods; and Kālidāsa has commented,

“पुराणस्य कवेस्तस्य चतुर्मुखसमीरिता।

प्रवृत्तिरासीच्छब्दानां चरितार्था चतुष्टयी ॥” (II. 17)

The similarity requires no elaboration. Sanskrit was the language of the gods. Its very meaning is, “purified.”

That is why, on drinking the Sāraswata waters, the Cloud would become purified-internally, “अंतःशुद्धस्त्वमपि भविता” For it would then carry Sanskrit learning.

Thus, Kālidāsa has advised a change over from Prākṛit to Sanskrit poetry, while acknowledging that Hālā (representing Prākṛit poetry, with a direct reference to Hālā’s Gāthāsaptāśatī) was also conforming to approved standards or flavour (abhimatarasa). The expression ‘Revatīlochanāṅkā’ was not merely a part of the story. It indicated the peculiarity of the Prākṛit poetry viz. that it was dear to young ladies, युवतिजनवल्लभ as the Vajjālagga puts it.

There are subsidiary Sleshas, besides “rasa” of “abhimatarasā.” It may be noted that a reference was made to the waters of the Saraswatī. When the Cloud has a drink in the bed of other rivers, it takes in always water and not waters. This is further indication of the special status of the Sāraswata ‘jala’.

Kālidāsa has, in a memorable reference, referred to Raghu embarking on a sea of learning—

लिपेर्यथावद्ग्रहणेन वाङ्मयम्

नदीमुखेनेव सामुद्रमाविशत् ॥ (III. 28)

After stating earlier, “नदीमिवान्तःसलिलां सरस्वतीम्” which, incidentally, is another *double entendre*, the river Saraswatī was evidently, ‘antaḥ salila’ when Kālidāsa wrote, as it is to-day.

The word 'abhigama' has been used in the sense of a gradual movement and the reverse of a plunge, the hint being that even a first or immediate consequence of a study of Sanskrit literature was purification of the mind. Taken in the sense of going to a river for drinking its water, it is but obvious that this is best done from the bank and not midstream.

This superb literary *ślesha* is continued even in the employment of words like वर्ण, कृष्ण and सौम्य. While broadly observing how Sanskrit was a divine language, spoken by even Viṣṇu and Brahmā, Kālidāsa had referred to Bhārati i.e. the Sanskrit language as, "वर्णस्थानसमीरिता" (R. V. X. 36); and "उद्घातः प्रणवो यासां न्यासैस्त्रिभिर्द्वीरणम्" (K.S. 11. 12.) The word वर्ण was clearly employed to mean not only letters or phonetic types but the spiritual aspect-Pātanjali's Vārtikā :

वर्णज्ञानं वाग्विषयो यत्र च ब्रह्म वर्तते ।

सौख्यमक्षरसाम्नायो वाक्साम्नायः पुष्पितः ॥

फलितश्चन्द्रतारकवत् प्रतिमंडितो वेदितव्यो ब्रह्मराशिः ।

(Mahābhāṣya 1.2.3)

I would note in passing that Kālidāsa must be regarded as being fully conscious of the implication of the word 'lipi' meaning writing, as explained by the Vārtikā on Pāṇin—he has definitely used the word 'lipi' (R. V. III 28) in connexion with learning; the Saraswatī jala as meaning learning; and *varna* as meaning writing.

He had defined¹ a cloud as a collection of smoke, lightning, wind and water. Later, in the Cloud's movement, he pictured it as taking water from the rivers and continually being affected by carrying that water. What happens when the waters of learning are carried? वर्णसात्रेण कृष्णः only the external appearance viz. the letters are black. The Cloud then, is pure learning itself, internally.

This magnificent *ślesha*, of course, involved another suggestion viz. that the Cloud would behave as Balarāma did and that it

would yet, in complexion, remain like *Krishṇa*.

Words like अपाम्, अभिगम, वर्ण, अन्तःशुद्धः deliberately used in this verse, take one to a pure atmosphere of Sanskrit. This effect has been heightened by employment of the word सौम्य-सौग्य, Vallabhadeva's reading i.e. the earliest available, derived from the word सोम which has obvious Vedic background—to be contrasted with what would be regarded as the Plebeian Hālā—which was more common wine (हलिप्रिया), not suitable for being imbibed on religious occasions.

Could words have been used with greater effect in a *double entendre* ? Could art have been disguised more perfectly ? What was more natural than a reference to Arjuna (*Meghadootam* 48), in the immediately preceding stanza dealing with Kurukshetra and in that Mahābhārata context, a reference to Balarāma and *Krishṇa*, immediately thereafter ? Probably, that was how the full import of this fundamentally important stanza, perhaps escaped earlier analyses.

II

If this were broadly correct, it follows that Kālidāsa knew by name as well as by his literary association, Hālā and his poetry.

This result is, to my mind, of over-riding importance. It shows that Kālidāsa was later than Hālā, in point of time. Thus Hālā becomes, after Agnimitra Śuṅga, another definitely identifiable historical personality mentioned by Kālidāsa, indirectly but definitely. This is valuable to Kālidāsa's chronology, as it would completely rule out one theory which commanded confidence in several quarters and had even held the field for several decades, not being without some advocates even now—viz. that Kālidāsa was associated with a Vikramāditya of 57 B.C. In this connexion, it is important to mention that Hālā, as indicating approved Prākṛit poetry, must obviously involve knowledge of that exquisite anthology of Prākṛit verse, known as Hālā's Gāthāsaptasatī.

The Gāthāsaptasatī is the most ancient collection of verses in

Mahārāshṭri Prākṛit. This anthology was compiled under the active encouragement of Hāla Sātavāhana. There is reason to believe that the Saptasatī was revised from time to time—and Weber has analysed as many as seven rescensions, only 430 out of 700 stanzas being common to all texts.¹ However, one may safely say with Shri K. Gopālāchāri, "There is no doubt that its kernel dates from the 1st or 2nd century A.D. and that it shows the previous existence of a considerable body of lyrical literature in Mahārāshṭri Prākṛit."

That there was a large contrast or difference in emphasis as regards selection of medium for literary output, between Hāla Sātavāhana's regime and that of Candragupta Vikramāditya (Sāhasāṅka) has been very clearly stated by Bhoja in his Saraswatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇam—

केऽभून्नभादयराजस्य राज्ये प्राकृतभाषिणः ।

काले श्रीसाहसांकस्य के न संस्कृतवादिनः ॥ II. 15.

Bhoja remarks further, "गिरः श्रव्या दिव्याः प्रकृतमधुराः प्राकृत-धुराः" । Later, he quotes with approval, Vātsyāyana on employing more than one medium for literary expression—

"नात्यन्तं संस्कृतेनैव नात्यन्तं देशभाषया ।

कथां गोष्ठीषु कथयँल्लोके बहुमतो भवेत् ॥"

He remarks naively, 'गत्यां गत्यामियं देवी विचित्रा हि सरस्वती ।'

Thus one gets an important historical result that Kālidāsa has indirectly given his own testimony to a prevailing emphasis on Sanskrit in Candragupta Sāhasāṅka's reign, about which Rājaśekhara stated later in his Kāvya-mīmāṃsā—

"श्रूयते चोज्जयिन्यां साहसांको नाम राजा तेन च भाषात्मकमन्तः पुर एवेति समानं पूर्वण ।"

after stating earlier, "श्रूयते च कुन्तलेषु सातवाहनो नाम राजा तेन प्राकृतभाषात्मकमन्तःपुर एवेति समानं पूर्वण ।" (X)

1. Cf. Mahāmahopadhyāya V. V. Mirashi in the Siddha Bhāratī 1950, on the date of the Gāthāsaptasatī where he showed what he thought was Vākātaka addition to this collection, including some contribution by Pravaraśena II. I have examined this view in my forthcoming publication on Kālidāsa. Apart from similarity of name and Pravaraśena's admitted literary activity in Prākṛit there is no basis for this conclusion.

Both Bhoja and Rājaśekhara were discussing period emphasis illustrating with a contrast between the reigns of Hāla and Candragupta II.

III.

To those who hold that Kālidāsa was a contemporary of Candragupta II who has been clearly indicated as Sāhasānka and defined with an allusion to his marriage with Dhruvaswāmini in a Rāshtrakūṭa copper plate inscription¹ of the tenth century, any suggestion that Kālidāsa came after Hāla, would naturally not be unacceptable by itself.

To those who recognise that Kālidāsa was familiar with Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtras² and had even quoted from that work, this conclusion would again cause no surprise. For Vātsyāyana lived in 350 A. D. Yet one detail may be stated : Vātsyāyana had mentioned Kuntala Sātakarṇi of the Sātavāhana family, (कर्तर्या कुन्तलः शातकर्णिः शातवाहनो महादेवीं मलयवतीं जघान। (II. 9. 28.)

At the end of an ancient manuscript of the Gāthāsaptasatī, Dr. Peterson³ found this note—"इति सप्तमं शतकम्। इति श्रीमत् कुन्तलजनपदेश्वरप्रतिष्ठानपत्तनाधीश-शातकर्णोपनामक-द्वीपिकर्णात्मजमलयवती-प्राणप्रिय-कालापवर्तक शर्पवर्मधीसख-मलयवत्युपदेशपंडितीभूतत्यक्त भाषात्रयस्वीकृतपैशाचिकपंडितराज-गुणाढयनिमित्तभस्मीभवद्बृहत्कथावशिष्ट सप्तमांशावलोकनप्राकृतादिवाक्पंचकप्रीतकविवत्पलहालाद्युपनामक-श्रीसातवाहन-नरेन्द्र-निर्मिता विविधान्योक्तिमयप्राकृतगीर्णुफिता शुचिरसप्रधाना काव्योत्तमा सप्तशत्यवसानमगात्।"

Every one of this string of compounds deserves separate notice, which I have attempted elsewhere.

This means that Vātsyāyana's Kuntala Sātakarṇi and Hāla Sātavāhana of the Gāthāsaptasatī refer to the same Sātavāhana king. Thus, even Vātsyāyana was, obviously, later in time than Hāla Sātavāhana. Shri Rāmakrishṇa Kavi had succeeded

1. I. H. Q. A pp. 48-53.

2. Cf. Q. J. Myth. Sec. Vol. VIII pp. 291-292.

3. Kāvya-māla No. 21 at page 66. This text (in its Sanskrit chaya) has been used throughout in this essay.

in getting a manuscript of a work called *Lilāvati* referring to Hāla Sātavāhana's marriage with Malayawati, after an expedition in South India.

Malayawati, as queen of a Kuntala Sātakarṇi-Sātavāhana, is common to the historical reference in Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtras* and the manuscript of the *Gāthā Saptasati* discovered by Dr. Peterson. This further clarifies that Bhoja's Ādhyarāja was none other than Hāla Sātavāhana. Other aspects of this matter have been examined by me separately.

IV

This has one bearing on the Vikramāditya problem, besides disproving, I hope for good, that Kālidāsa belonged to the century before the Christ.

In the *Jyotirvidābharaṇa* is a reference to a tradition of there being six founders of eras among whom a Sātavāhana is no. 3. I was not suggesting here that authorship of this work could be confidently attributed to Kālidāsa. But there is enough to indicate that Hāla had extensive conquests to north and to south of the Godāvari and the Krishṇā valleys and had even rewarded his soldiers liberally.

In many a discussion of the Vikramāditya problem, the following verse from the *Gāthāsaptasati* referring to a Vikramāditya giving a lakh to his warriors for suppressing his foes, has received ample attention:—

संवाहनमुखरसतोषितेन ददता तव करे लाक्षाम् ।

चरणेन विक्रमादित्य चरितममुं लक्षितं तस्याः ॥

and, in verse V. 67 is a reference to शालिवाहननरेन्द्रः. That it was Hāla Sātavāhana himself who gave liberally on this scale appears to be indicated by the following passage from the *Niryukti Bhāṣhya* of Bhadrabāhu Suri, which definitely mentions Hāla and his monetary award of lakhs in an expedition against a Bhrigukaccha king, Naravāhana—

भरुकचपुरेऽत्रासीद् भूपतिर्नरवाहनः ।

ससमृद्धात्मकोषस्य श्रीमदप्यवमन्यते ॥१॥

इतः प्रतिष्ठानपुरे पार्थिवः शालिवाहनः ।
 बलेनापि समृद्धः स हरोध नरवाहनम् ॥२॥
 आनयत्परिशोषाणि यस्तस्याऽऽदान्महर्षिकः ।
 लक्षं विलक्षं तत्तस्य नित्यं घ्नन्ति स्म तद्भटाः ॥३॥
 हा तस्यापि भटाः केऽप्यानिन्युः सोऽदात्त किञ्चन ।
 सोऽथ क्षीणजनो नष्ट्वा पुनरेति समांतरे ॥४॥
 पुनर्नष्ट्वा तथैवेति नाभूद् तद् ग्रहणक्षमः ।
 अथैके मायया हालं सचिवो निरवास्यत ॥५॥
 स परंपरयाज्ञासीद् भरुकच्छनराधिपः ।
 अपास्तोज्ज्वापरोधोऽपि निजामात्यस्ततः कृतः ॥६॥
 ज्ञात्वा विश्वस्तं सोऽव्यक्तं राज्यं प्रायेण लभ्यते ।
 तदन्यस्य भवस्यार्थं पाथेयं कुरु पार्थिव ॥७॥
 धर्मस्थानविधानाद्यैर्द्रव्यप्रायाय तत्ततः ।
 आगन्मन्त्रिगिरा हालः पार्थिवोऽयाह मंत्रिणम् ॥८॥
 मिलितोऽसि किमस्य त्वं सोऽवदन्न मिलास्यहम् ।
 अथान्तःपुरभूषादिद्रविणैस्तं तदाक्षिपत् ॥९॥
 हालेऽथ पुनरायाते निर्द्रव्यत्वान्ननाश सः ।
 नगरं जगृहे हालो द्रव्यप्रणघिरेषिका ॥१०॥

This is corroborated by the following passage from Soma-
 deva's Kathāsarita-sāgara (6th taranga)

राजार्हुरस्तनिचयैरथ शर्ववर्मा
 तेनार्चितो गुरुरिति प्रणतेन राज्ञा ।
 स्वामीकृतश्च विषये भरुकच्छनास्मि
 कूलोपकंठविनिवेशिनि नर्मदायाः ॥

I conclude, in view of this evidence, that the important
 reference in the Gāthāsaptasatī to Vikramāditya's liberality, was
 concerning Hāla himself. Hāla and Candragupta II were com-
 parable personalities on account of their patronage of Prākṛit
 and Sanskrit learning which led to a persistent literary tradition
 about their diversity of taste.

V

It would not suffice to hold that Kālidāsa knew of Hāla's

poetry, or had referred to the wide popularity of Guṇāḍhya's Brihatkathā story of Udayana in Ujjayini. There is evidence that Kālidāsa not only weeded and raked the rich literary field of the Gāthāsaptāśatī but also fertilized the soil and brilliantly replanted it, to achieve a landscape which could hardly have been ever envisaged by any but an extra-ordinarily clever student of that unique anthology in Mahārāshṭrī Prākṛit. Climbing on the Vindhya, as it were, he achieved the Himālayan heights.

A good deal of his method and form of expression of sentiment, description of nature and even allusions to Śiva's married life with Pārvatī, in the Kumārasambhavam and the Meghadootam and the earlier Ritusamhāram, can be directly related to some verses in the Gāthāsaptāśatī. Above all, his much discussed approach of संभोगज्ञागार, is in direct continuation of the Prākṛit atmosphere of the Gāthāsaptāśatī.

VI

The flora and the geography, in general, of the Ritusamhāram, are identical with the flora and the geography of the Gāthāsaptāśatī. The flora of the Meghadootam are substantially a repetition of what was referred to in the Ritusamhāram and the Gāthāsaptāśatī. The Vindhya, the Narmadā and the Mālatī, Kadamba flowers etc. are common elements, among others. If it were correct that the Ritusamhāram could be counted as part of Kālidāsa's initial literary output, sufficient note must be taken of the fact that "The Seasons" are influenced by descriptive details in the Gāthāsaptāśatī; and from this, it may follow that Kālidāsa became familiar with this anthology in his youth and that his genius was deeply governed by it, immediately. His study led, not so much to wholesale borrowing as to assimilation; and Kālidāsa thought it fit to restate lovers' reactions to seasons, giving that restatement, a firmly integrated atmosphere, which was absent in the anthology.

All the verses in the Gāthāsaptāśatī dealing with Śiva and Pārvatī, were utilised as raw materials in Kālidāsa's literary workshop.

(a) The last stanza of the Gāthāsaptasatī was about Gouri getting annoyed when Śiva performed his evening sandhyā.

संध्यागृहीतजलाञ्जलि प्रतिमासंक्रान्तगौरीमुखकमलम् ।

अलीकमेव स्फुरितोष्ठं विगलितमन्त्रं हरं नमत ॥

It may be noted that the magnificent description of the evening, witnessed from the Gandhamādanavana and Pārvati's reaction, to Śaṅkara performing sandhyā,¹ in the Kumārasambhavam was suggested by these concluding lines of Hāla's Prākṛit collection. There is perfect accord in their sentiment.

(b) Another verse referring to Śiva's sandhyā viz. no. 548 was also utilised:—

सन्ध्यासमये जलपूरितांजलिं विघटितैकवामकरम् ।

गौर्यै कोषपानोद्यतमिव प्रमयाधिपं नमत ॥

(c) Another famous reference, of importance in this context, is the verse no. 555 of the Gāthāsaptasatī viz.

रतिसंभ्रमहृतनिवसनकरकिसलयरुद्धनयनयुगलस्य ।

शम्भोस्तृतीयनयनं गिरिजापरिचुम्बितं जयति ॥

With this may be compared verse no. 7 of the Kumārasambhavam (VIII)—

शूलिनः करतलद्वयेन सा संनिरुध्य नयने हुतांशुका ।

तस्य पश्यति ललाटलोचने मोक्षयत्नविधुरा रहस्यभूत् ॥

(d) Another verse suggestive of "deva śrinagara" is no. 567—

आपन्नानि कुलानि द्वावेव जानीत उन्नतिं नेतुम् ।

गौर्या हृदयदयितोऽथवा शालिवाहननरेन्द्रः ॥

This may be compared with the advocacy of the Rishis sent by Śiva to Himālaya "वरः शंभुरलं ह्येष त्वत्कुलोद्भूतये विधिः ।" (vi. 82). For a definition of अपर्णा stanza no. 28 canto V of Kumārasambhavam may be seen. The other suggestion in the Gāthā verse was taken up by Kālidāsa; and it perhaps constitutes his biggest licence in this connexion, "कुलाइ" of the Hāla verse was meant to suggest hips as well.

(e) Even a more exact parallel is furnished in a comparison

1. Kumārasambhavam, VIII, 30-74.

between two verses—no. 69 of the Gāthāsaptasatī and no. 60 of the Meghadootam—

- (i) पाणिग्रहण एवं पार्वत्या ज्ञातं सखीभिः सौभाग्यम् ।
पशुपतिना वासुकिकंकणेऽपसारिते दूरम् ॥
- (ii) हित्वा नीलं भुजगवलयं शंभुना दत्तहस्ता
क्रीडाशैले यदि च विचरेत् पादचारेण गौरी ।
भंगीभक्त्या विरचितवपुः स्तंभितान्तर्जलौघः
सोपानत्वं कुह मणितटारोहणायाप्रयायी ॥

I may note that this comparison helps making a correct appreciation of what Kālidāsa really intended to convey. No reference was meant to any adhyātmic terminology, as argued by Dr. V. S. Agrawal.¹ Kālidāsa advised the Cloud on how to confront a delicate or even an embarrassing situation, as it could have seen Śiva walking with Pārvati on a 'kṛīḍāshaila'. The Cloud was asked to lie low on the flank, so that their privacy could be preserved. In the Kumārasambhavam, it has been specifically stated (VIII 81)

ताम्....प्राविशन्मणिशिलागृहं रहः ॥

I would only draw attention to two words "प्राविशन्" (causal form) and "रहः" (secretly), if any doubts were left about this interpretation.²

(f) The idea of बलित्रय (vide Kumārasambhavam I. 39 and V. 24) as a staircase of Kāma may be compared with the following verse from the Gāthāsaptasatī III. 78, on which it is distinct improvement—

स्वेदच्छलेन पश्यत तनुकेऽङ्गे तस्या अमात् ।

लावण्यमपसरतीव त्रिवलीसोपानपङ्क्तिभिः ।

(g) Yet another example may be had in a comparison between verse no. 11 in the Cloud Messenger with verse no. 57 in Hāla's Gāthāsaptasatī. In both verse, common points are: the thunder

1. Dr. V. S. Agrawal in his मेघदूत एक अध्ययन, pp. 155-156 and 5.

2. मणिशिला is a recognised variant for मणितट in the Meghadoota stanza also and probably the older text. But मणितट is an improvement on मणिशिला

of clouds, swans, and their flight to the Mānasa lake, with again a distinct improvement by Kālidāsa—

(i) हंसेरिव तव रणज्जलदसमयभयचलितवित्त्वलपक्षैः ।

परिशेषितपद्मांशैर्मानसं गम्यते रिपुभिः ॥

—Gāthāsaptasati

(ii) कर्तुं यश्च प्रभवति सहीमुच्छिलीन्ध्रामवन्ध्याम्

तच्छ्रुत्वा ते श्रवणमुभगं गजितं मानसोत्काः ।

आकौलासाद्विसकिसलयच्छेदपाथेयवन्तः

संपत्स्यन्ते नभसि भवतो राजहंसाः सहायाः ।

—Meghadootam

Such instances of the Gāthāsaptasati materials being transmuted by Kālidāsa could be multiplied. To do justice to Hāla's anthology, it may not be overlooked that there is frequent and refined employment of ślesha in its verses, whose qualities are best summarised in the following lines—

परिमलनमुखा गुहका अलब्धविवराः सलक्षणाभरणाः ।

स्तनकाः काव्यालापा इव कस्य हृदये न लगन्ति ॥

V. 287

One may compare this view with Sri Krishna Kavi's 11th century remarks on Kālidāsa's poetry, quoted earlier.

One last example may suffice in this context. In what may be called a world famous stanza, forming an important absolute in Yaksha's message, (Uttaramegha 49) Kālidāsa has stated—

एतस्मान्मां कुशलितमभिज्ञानदानाद्विदित्वा ।

मा कौलोनाच्चकितनयने मय्यविश्वासिनी भूः ॥

स्नेहानाहुः किमपि विरहे ध्वंसिनस्ते त्वभोगा-

दिष्टे वस्तुन्युपचितरसाः प्रेमराशी भवन्ति ॥

I draw attention to his employment of, "आहुः" I suggest that Kālidāsa is quoting somebody else's views—for that is a recognised meaning of "आहुः," and I submit that he is referring to certain views expressed on this subject in Hāla's Gāthāsaptasati

(i) अदर्शनेन प्रेमापैत्यतिदर्शनेनाप्यपैति ।

पिशुनजनजल्पितेनाप्यपैत्येवमेवाप्यपैति ॥

(G. S. T. 81)

(ii) And more particularly, no. 336 of the Gāthāsaptasatī, which not only states very picturesquely, a view exactly opposite to that of Kālidāsa, but even uses a simile which is equally a reverse image of that employed by Kālidāsa, with a *double entendre* on the word 'स्नेह'—

अदर्शनेन पुत्रक सुष्ठ्वपि स्नेहानुबन्धघटितानि ।
हस्तपुटपानीयानीव कालेन गलन्ति प्रेमाणि ॥

VII.

Govardhanāchārya (11th century A.D.) has remarked in his Āryāsaptasatī, a Sanskrit composition consciously modelled on Hāla's Gāthāsaptasatī—

वाणी प्राकृतसमुच्चितरसा बलेनैव संस्कृतं नीता ।
निम्नानुरूपनीरा कलिव्दकन्येव गगनतलम् ॥ (52)

Govardhanāchārya was another exponent of śleśha. As Ananta Paṇḍita explains in his commentary on this verse, "बलेन बलात्कारेण । पक्षे, बलरामेण ।"

This is thus a substantial parallel to what Kālidāsa implied in verse 49 of his Cloud Messenger. Govardhanāchārya says that just as Balarāma lifted the water of the Yamunā which was flowing down-stream, a reference to his exploit under influence of wine, the Prākṛit poetry was translated into Sanskrit, but not without effort. Balarāma's marriage with Revatī had followed this incident; and his non-participation in the Kurukshetra war had followed his marriage. The poetry of the Cloud Messenger is very clever condensation.

VIII.

I have examined elsewhere, the bearing of certain aspects of this matter in connexion with Kālidāsa's views on literature, on the relative antiquity of Sanskrit and Prākṛit literatures and on his position regarding a debate which seems to have prolonged itself in ancient India, for centuries, concerning the relative merits of Sanskrit and Prākṛit in responsible literary circles.

Similarly, a narration has been attempted in my forthcoming publication on Kālidāsa, of how all this analysis helps a recons-

truction based mainly on his works, of his biography with special reference to the sequence of literary activities.

If I have ventured to indicate here a consciously used source-book of Kālidāsa, I may also point out that his genius absorbed that which was good in several branches of literature available to him. He was a supreme connoisseur—like his favourite Cloud drinking “परिलघु पयः”, soft refined “water”, from time to time, while stepping on from height to height. And he was India’s greatest classical poet, holding to an ideal, among others, of achieving “what oft was thought but ne’er so well expressed.”

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

Proceedings of the meeting of the Council of the Bihar Research Society and the K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute held at 6. p. m. On 4th June, 1955 in the Society's Council room.

Present

1. Dr. K. K. Datta (in the Chair).
2. Justice Shri S. C. Mishra.
3. Shri S. A. Shere.
4. Dr. T. Chowdhury.
5. Dr. D. R. Patil.
6. Dr. B. P. Sinha.
7. Shri S. V. Sohoni.

In the absence of the Vice-President Dr. K. K. Datta was elected to the Chair.

(1). The proceedings of the meeting of the Council held on 10th April, 1955 were confirmed.

(2) (a). The annual accounts for the year 1954-55 were passed.

(b) The monthly accounts for March and April, 1955 were passed. It was considered necessary to have an early audit of these accounts.

(c) The following payments were passed and it was considered necessary to have an early audit:—

- | | |
|--|-----------------|
| 1. Ottoharrassowitz, purchase of books | Rs. 25- 8-0 |
| 2. Meharchand Munshi Ram, do | Rs. 20-10-0 |
| 3. Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series do | Rs. 182-12-0 |
| 4. Meharchand Munshi Ram, do | Rs. 470-12-0 |
| 5. do do | Rs. 52- 8-0 |
| 6. Motilal Banarsi Das, do | Rs. 36- 0-0 |
| 7. do do | Rs. 231- 0-0 |
| 8. B. H. Blackwell, do | £ 21 2s. |
| 9. Bihar Investment Trust, purchase of steel Almirahs ... | do Rs. 566- 2-0 |
| 10. Swatantra Nava Bharat Press, printing of Journal Volume 40 (4) | Rs. 1389-1-6 |

11. Swatantra Bharat Furniture

House, purchase of twelve chairs Rs. 266 -0-0

12. Miscellaneous expenditure incurred

in connection with Dr. Potdar's

lecture Rs. 252-15-6

(3). The action taken for holding an extraordinary meeting on 18 May, 1955 when Mahamahopadhyaya D. V. Potdar delivered a lecture was approved.

Arrangements for holding the Society's annual general meeting were then discussed. It was decided that Dr. Satkari Mukherjee of the Nalanda Pali Institute, Dr. Tripurari Chakraverty and Dr. J. N. Banerjee may be consulted for delivering a lecture in this connection on either of the last two Saturdays in July 1955 as would be convenient to the President of the Society.

(4). The Hony. Director's letter No. 438/55 dated 2 May, 1955 about the K. P. J. Institute share in Electric consumption was read. It was decided that the share could be determined by comparing the averages in corresponding period in the past and the extra expenditure recouped out of the contingent grant of the Institute; and if this could not be met out of the present provision, and application could be made to Government for considerably augmenting it.

5. Letter No 492/55 dated 25 May, 1955 from Shri V. K. Mishra, Research Fellow, K. P. J. Research Institute regarding conversion of Society's bath room into the Institute's photographic room was read. It was decided that this conversion if effected would remove useful amenity of the Society's staff. The consideration of providing a dark room for the Institute was postponed as the Hony. Director was not present; and it was decided that the Executive Engineer, Central Division, P. W. D. to be requested to examine the possibilities in consultation with Shri V. K. Mishra.

(6). Resolved that library books that have been lying with members for more than two months must be returned to the library within a fortnight from this date, pending which no more

books are to be issued to the defaulters. Those who want to keep books in excess of the permissible for a specific period for research purpose should apply to the Hony. Librarian specifying the period for which these are desired to be retained.

Also resolved that Government be requested to sanction the post of a library assistant for the Bihar Research Society's library in the scale of the ministerial service, the starting pay of which is Rs. 75/- plus the cost of living allowance at Government rate.

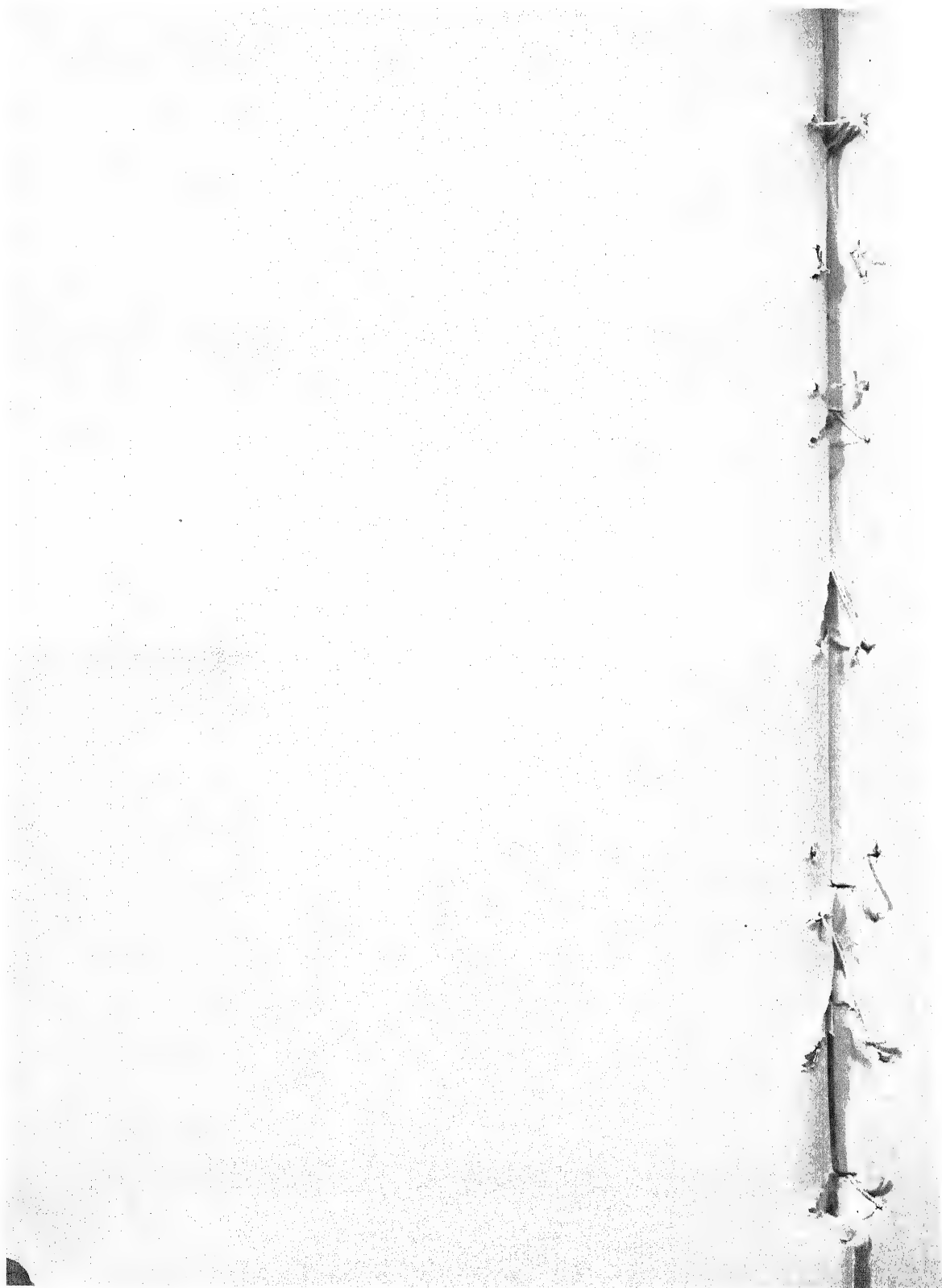
Resolved further that it is not possible for the present assistant of the Society to manage satisfactorily the affairs of the library over and above his other duties. It is essential in the interest of the library to have another assistant exclusively for the library which contains over 1120 books and Journals.

(7). The following persons were elected as ordinary members of the Society:—

1. Shri A. K. Mookherjee, Principal, C. M. College, Darbhanga.
2. Shri Mithila Sharan Pandey, G. D. College, Begusarai.
3. Shri Begroj Dokania, Pleader, Purnea.

B. P. Sinha

Honorary Joint Secretary.



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{ PART 3

THE INDRAGARH STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE
TIME OF THE RĀSHṬRAKUṬA KINGĀNĀNĀPĀ,
V. S. 767.

By

Dr. H. V. Trivedi.

The subjoined inscription was found at Indragarh, a deserted place, some three miles from Bhānpurā, a *tehsil* head-quarter in the Mandasor district of Madhya Bharat, and was noticed by me, in brief, in the *Ind. Hist. Quarterly*, XXX, p. 193. The stone on which it is engraved was discovered in the process of digging¹ in a field on the site, and in my visit to the place in August, 1954, I found it lying detached, in a heap of sculptures and carved slabs, appearing as remains of a temple. The writing of the record was observed to be very clear and it was possible for me to read the whole of the inscription from the stone itself, which, through the interest taken in it by Shri. B.G. Rao, Chief Secretary, Madhya Bharat Government, has now been removed to the Indore Museum, where it is preserved. It is edited here for the first time, with full text and a facsimile plate from my own ink-impression, revising some of my previous statements made on the basis of the faint and somewhat indistinct impression, which was then available to me.²

1. For the location and description of the site, see my note referred to above.

2. A note on the record, along with its transcript, has also appeared in a weekly paper in Hindi, from the pen of Shri V. S. Wakankar; but his version of the text is not free from errors, some being very gross. And since in his writing he has not exhaustively dealt with the historical and other peculiarities of the record, it has become necessary to work it out in detail in an eminent research journal to make it widely known to the scholarly world.

The record is incised on a smooth slab of sand-stone, measuring 2' 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ " broad by 1' 9" high and about 3' 5" in thickness. The writing covers a space of about 2' 2" broad by 1' 5" high. It consists of 19 lines, all of equal length, except the last one, which contains only five letters and is 2" long. The average size of letters, omitting the *mātrās* and the flourishes above, ranges between $\frac{1}{2}$ " and $\frac{1}{4}$ ". The letters in about the last one-third part of the record are slightly smaller, evidently to suit to the exigencies of the space available.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, and excepting the introductory *Oṃ namaḥ Śivāya* and the concluding portion recording some minor endowments in ll. 15-9, it is throughout composed in verses. On the whole the writing is well preserved, except that there appears a slight scratch in the middle, extending from *dā* of *Dānarāśi* in l. 9 to *rā* of *rājā* in l. 6, which has, however, done no harm but partially damaged only the first letter of the name in l. 6. As stated above, the record is completely legible.

The characters, which are neatly formed and well but not deeply engraved,¹ belong to an early type of the *Nāgarī* script, technically known as the *Kuṭila* or *Vikaṭa* script, and their general form, is slightly more advanced than that of those employed in Harsha's Bānskerā inscription² they bear resemblance to that of the characters employed in the Jhālrapāṭan record of the time of the king Durgagaṇa and the Kaṇaswā record of Śivagaṇa, dated V. S. 746 and 795 respectively.³ Some of its letters, however, differ from those of either of these records, and as such, they deserve to be noticed here, particularly when being composed and incised in 767 V.S., it chronologically occupies a position between them both, supplying the missing link of the development of the script during this period. The initial *a*, employed five times in our record in *abhavat*, *aṇaro'pi*, *avavarakah*, *aṅgaṇam* and *antima*—in all. II. 9, 12, 16 and 17 respectively, has

1. This point is noticed below in dealing with the text.

2. E. I., IV, p. 208.

3. I. A., V, p. 181 and *ibid.*, XIX, p. 58 respectively.

assumed the almost modern form and is much like the one found in the Kuṇḍeśvara record of the Guhila Aparājita.¹ The initial *ā* is denoted by joining to it the ordinary sign for medial *u*, with a round curve to the left, cf. *āsīt* in l. 6; and the medial sign for this letter is shown in three different ways:—(1) by a vertical following the consonant and assuming almost the same height, as in *idamāyatanam* in l. 13, or coming down to about its half, as in *olālītā* in l. 3, its lower portion sometimes straight, as in *Silavatā* in l. 11, but generally curving to the right and ending in a point, as in *°bharālasam*, *nagarānumate* and *devālayam* in l. 13, 12 and 14 respectively; (2) by a triangular stroke, as in *vāmi* and *grihāṇa* in l. 3; and (3) by a curve above the letter, as in *pādoddhāreṇa*, *prakāśa*, and *°kāriṇā* in l. 1, 10 and 12 respectively, which is graceful when attached to letters like *ja*, *ṭa* and *ṇa*, as in *jātapakshāḥ* (l. 2) *°gajaghaṭā* (l. 5) and *praṇāśam* (l. 5). Sometimes different forms are used side by side in the same word, as in *nāgarājah* and *yogābhyāsa* in l. 1 and 10 respectively. The initial *i*, occurring three times in our record, is engraved in its old form; it is denoted by two hollow dots in a horizontal line with an inverted comma-like figure below them as in *iva* and *iha* in l. 1 and 16 respectively, like that of the *Bānskherā* plate record. Its *mātrā* is denoted by a loop curved to the left above the letter, as in *vibhāti* in l. 1, often the curve coming down to about the height of the letter as in *Karoti* in l. 3, and at times taking a turn to the right below the letter, as in *atitarām* in l. 11.² Some similar distinction is also to be seen in the form of the medial *ī*. The medial *u* is denoted by a short vertical ending in a dot and attached to the lower part of the letter as in *soḍhum* and *manyu* in l. 3; sometimes by prolonging the horizontal bar of the letter itself, as in *°bhāsura* in l. 4, but often also by its modern form as in *so' stu*, *°samupachitam* and *kumārah* in l. 2, 5 and 15 respectively. Its form still varies when applied to letters like *ra* and *sa*; cf. *ru* in *Rudra* in l. 6, *ru* in *rūpam* in l. 4 and *viśruta*

1. E. I., IV, p. 30; also see Ojha : *The Palaeography of India*, Pl. No. 20.

2. All these forms used side by side are to be seen in l. 2 *Tasmin.. Jaga-*
didam.

in 11. 10 and 14. Of the medial *e* both the forms are to be seen, viz. the old one which is represented by a horizontal stroke to left in continuation of the top-line of the letter and ending in a dot below, as in *te* in °*pātena* in 1. 1 and also by a slanting curve above the letter, as in *drishte* in 1. 5. The medial vowels standing above the letters are occasionally made ornamental like the corresponding vowels of the *Jhālārā-Pāṭan* *prāśasti* and the *Bānskheḍā* record referred to above. The *anusvāra* is expressed by a superscript hollow circle, which has in certain cases become solid due to deep engraving (cf. *evam* 1. 3); and the *visarga* is denoted by two similar hollow and beautifully formed circles after the letter to which it belongs.

As to the form of consonants, which shows greater resemblance to that of those of the *Jhālārā-Pāṭan* record than of the *Kaṇaswā* inscription, the following peculiarities may be noted. *Ka* is written in one stroke, except when it is a part of a conjunct consonant (cf. *takṛitam*, 1. 2); in *kha* the vertical forming the latter limb ends in a triangle inside and not outside as in the *Kaṇaswā* record; *gha* shows an additional leftward bend of the initial loop; and the letter *tha* shows a downward bend of its cross-bar, cf. °*prithu*—and °*sānāthya*—in 11. 7 and 12. Attention may also be drawn to the formation of (1) *ga* in *girayaḥ* (1.2) and °*gochari* (1.7), both of which have assumed the almost modern shape, but showing slight variation from each other; (2) of *ṭha* in °*pīḥa* (1.5), showing a short horizontal stroke ending in a loop below, (3) of *pa* and *ya* which sometimes show little distinction (as in *Śivāya* and °*pātena* in 1. 1); (4) of *pa* in °*samupachitam* in 1. 5; (5) of *ma* and *sa* in the same word, which are to be distinguished only by the thicker triangular stroke of the letter; and of *la* in *Mālavānām*, the initial part of which has assumed the form of a loop (1. 14). *Ya* appears in two different forms, when as a single letter and when used as subscript. The superscript *r* is all through shown by an oblique stroke to the left, adjoined to the end of the vertical of the letter to which it is attached (cf. *prachalati*, 1. 1); it is generally short but sporadically very long and sometimes forming almost a right angle with the

vertical, as in *krama* (l. 5). The same letter when used as a superscript is occasionally represented by a curve above as in *mūrdhni* in l. 2, but more often by a triangular stroke above, standing either on the level of the top-line of the letters or rising above it (cf. *pūrvā pūrvaja* in l. 15). As a superscript of *ya*, it is treated as the main letter, the form of the following *ya* being as of a superscript; (cf. *kārye* and *°maryādā* in ll. 17 and 11 respectively). *śa* occasionally shows an upward bend of the cross-bar, as in *śishyaḥ* (l. 9), as opposed to in *°rāśi* in l. 7, where it is almost horizontal. The formation of *śśa* in *°śśavda* and *tapāśśaktyā*—ll. 8-9 is also noteworthy.

The orthographical peculiarities calling for notice are : (1) the use of *va* for *ba* throughout; (2) the doubling of consonants with a superscript or subscript *r* (cf. *arrjita*, l. 6; *°nīrmala*,—l. 9 and *chāttra*, l. 12, but not in *pūrvā pūrvaja*—in l. 15 and *°pātram* in l. 16; (3) the assimilation of a *m* to the following nasal in *kaṅkaṇa* (l. 3), *maṇḍana*—(l. 8) and *saṁkrānta*—(l. 4), but not in *romāñcham* in l. 4, where we find an *anusvāra*, as also at the end of a *pāda*, e. g. in ll. 4 and 11, which is indeed striking when we find the scribe fond of using a *m* even in the midst of words like *Svayambhoḥ* (l. 11) and *Śambhoḥ* (l. 13); (4) the assimilation of a *visarga* to the following sibilant, occurring in some cases but not all through, cf. *°yugassavda*—(l. 8) and *yastishṭhati* (l. 4), but not in *yah śāntah*, l. 7 and *kṛitajñāḥ sakala*, l. 8. In all there are six and eight cases respectively when the *visarga* is not assimilated to the following *śa* and *sa*. (5) In *tisraḥ* (l. 16) the *mātrā* of *i* in *ti* is written as the vowel *ri*.

The sign of *avagraha* is nowhere employed, though there are in all five cases where it could have been used : in *so'stu*, *drishṭe' ri-*, *bhūtale' smin*, *aparō'pi* and *°subhage'*—*nile* occurring in ll. 2, 5, 7, 12, and 14 respectively.

Sandhis are generally observed in the metrical part but are sometimes neglected in the prose portion at the end of the record however, there are two cases where *sandhi* rules are not followed, *purah yat-* (l. 2) and *yahtapah* (l. 9), appearing at the end of the first and beginning of the second *pāda* of a verse.

Similarly *m* of the expression *śaktāsmayaham*, which occurs at the end of the third *pāda* of a verse in l. 3, is not joined with the following *evam*, an *anusvāra* being used here, a wrong use of which may also be noted in *vidvān jñānī* in l. 7. There is one case, viz. in *prayānti* (l. 2) occurring at the end of a *pāda* and therefore requiring a long vowel in the end; though according to the rules of prosody, this short *i* may be treated long, but it is at least not a happy construction.

The engraver has sometimes corrected his errors, e.g. in *antima-* in l. 17, where the letter *ma* omitted in the first attempt has been later on engraved below *tī*; the *mātrā* of *vī* in *jāhnavī* in l. 3 was first made short and then it was corrected as long; and something has been first engraved and then scratched after the *visarga* of *sthīrāḥ* in l. 13. Some scratches also appear below the *pa* in *°patyāt* (l. 16), below the *va* in *dhavala* in l. 1, and some letters first engraved and then scratched as unnecessary at the end of ll. 14 and 17. It is also worth noting that parts of letters, though marked by the scribe remained unengraved in the mason's attempt; e. g. in l. 1 the *visarga* in *duḥkham* and of *pakshāḥ* in ll. 1-12 is marked on the stone but it is not engraved and therefore does not appear in the facsimile. The double *na* in *°nnittham* (l. 2) and in *kaśchinna-* (l. 12) is marked on the stone but engraved only as a single letter. A glance over the margin of the writing does not fail to show that at times the mason first attempted some of the letters there and then engraved them finally. It has also to be stated here that in spite of all the care that the engraver has bestowed on the work, in some places the letters like *pa* and *ya*, *sa* and *ma* etc. appear very much alike in their form; and because of the shallow engraving some of the medial vowels appear only as dots, as of *kto prokto*, of *ne* in *tenedaṁ*, of *le* in *Kāle* and of *yā* in *dayāluḥ* respectively in ll. 3, 11, 12 and 10. Such other points will be noted while dealing with the text.

The metrical portion contains 15 verses. They are not numbered but the double *daṇḍa* is used at the end of each verse, and the single *daṇḍa* to show the half of the verses. In the end of the formal portion of the record appears the symbol resembling

the Brāhmi *tha*, with a double *daṇḍa* on either of its sides.

The record opens with a short sentence in prose, paying the customary obeisance to Śiva, which is followed by the metrical portion invoking the blessings of this deity in vs. 1 and 2 and of Pārvatī in V. 3. Verse 4 introduces to us a ruler of the name of Naṇṇappa, also stating that he was a descendent (*prasūti*) of Bhāmāna,¹ who belonged to the renowned Rāshtrakūṭa lineage. The name of Bhāmāna is known to us for the first time from this record, which, as it may be noted with interest, is the first and so far the only epigraph discovered in this region and referring to the Rāshtrakūṭa sway over it. But unfortunately for the historian, the document is silent about the parentage of our Naṇṇappa and his description too is all of the conventional type, no specific exploit being mentioned therein. This had led me in my preliminary notice of the record only to suggest a possibility of identifying him with the Rāshtrakūṭa Nanna of the Multāi and the Tivarkheḍ plates, both of which completely agree in mentioning the names of his father, grandfather and great-grand-father as Svāmikarāja, Govindarāja and Durgarāja respectively and both issued at the beginning years of the eight century A.D.² to which time the present record also belongs. According to this presumption the lingual *ṇ* used all through in the name of the prince and its end in *pḥa* has to be taken as due to local influence, which is also to be seen in its being dated in the Mālava (Vikrama) era, unlike the other Rāshtrakūṭa records which are all dated in the Śaka era.

The above presumption, however, was thus based merely on

1. As can be read on the stone and the accompany plate, and not Bhamana, as I had from the indistinct rubbing then available.

2. *I. A. XVIII*, p. 234 and *E. I.*, XI, p. 279 respectively. The genuineness of the Multāi record has been questioned by Dr. Altekar, arguing that the genealogy mentioned in it begins in verse and it has a sudden break of sentence in prose followed by a verse again. But this does not necessarily prove that its date too is wrong. On the other hand, I am inclined to agree with D. R. Bhandarkar, who in his *List of Insers. of N. India*, p. 145, n. 1, remarks that the year 653, the date of the Tivarkheḍ record, may be a mistake for 653, not only because its text is full of inaccuracies but also that the Solar eclipse mentioned therein actually fell in the latter and not in the former year, i.e. in 653 and not in 553.

the chronological consideration and the similarity in names appearing in the different records, but here we have also to remember that *Rāshtrakūṭa* was a name, not of a family but of office, like Deshmukh and Deshpande, as suggested to me by Dr. Altekar; and moreover, here we have also to take into account the scholarly suggestion of Prof. V. V. Mirashi, *viz.* that since during this period the Mauryas of Mevād were supreme in this region of Madhya Bharat, the prince mentioned in the present record was probably a petty ruler, accepting suzerainty of the contemporary Mauryan emperor.¹ Until his views are published in detail, it is not possible to examine them; however, what can at present be pointed out in brief is that this suggestion also is not free from difficulties. For, even admitting with Prof. Mirashi that Nanna was a common name borne by kings in ancient times, we have so far no conclusive evidence to hold that the region of the findspot of the record then actually formed part of the dominions of the Mauryas, whose sovereignty may have been recognised by our Nannappa. The present record, though not referring to any specific exploit of this ruler, mentions him as a prince of great valour "who made his enemies leave the battle-field," which statement may also be taken to contain a veiled reference to his fight with the Mauryas or the Arabs, of which we have no account; and it is also significant to note here that our record does not mention any overlord of Nannappa, and thus all the facts, so far known, militate against taking him as a subordinate chief. Thus, stating here the different views on the topic in hand, it may only be said that the mystery cannot be satisfactorily solved until fresh and decisive material is available.

In view of what has been stated above, our Nannappa who flourished some time in the first quarter of the eighth century A. D., may thus have been a contemporary of the *Rāshtrakūṭa* Govinda, his son Karka I or and his son Indra I. But since neither he nor his ancestor Bhāmāna is found mentioned in the genealogy in any of the records of the main line of the *Rāshtra-*

1. List of Papers and Summaries, Ind. Hist. Cong., Ahmedabad, 1954, p. 14. The article is still unpublished.

kūṭa house of Mālkhed, he may perhaps have been a scion either belonging to a collateral line or an altogether different house of the Rāshtrakūṭas, the question being open for the present.

The object of the inscription is to record the erection of a temple of Śiva, called here *Svayambhū* (l. 11) and also as *Guheśvara* (l. 18), by a Pāśupata teacher of the name of Dānarāśi, a disciple of an ascetic teacher of the name of Vinītarāśi, who was well versed in Grammar and who commanded great respect. Thus the present document supplies us with a line of Saivite teachers, as is also evident from the use of the word *Śrīṅghalikā*—in l. 7; but the names of these teachers are recorded only for two generations. But it is interesting to note that both these names end in—*rāśi*, like those of many others mentioned in epigraphic records¹ and it may also be noted that most of these houses may have been mutually connected, which can be brought out by further research.

The epithet of *Pāśupatāchārya*, given to Vinītarāśi in the present record throws important light on the point. This sect, which deals with certain austerities and religious practices, has also been known as of Lakuliśa, consequence of its having been originated from Lakulī, the last incarnation of Maheśvara, which took place at Kāyāvarohaṇa identified with Kārvaṇ near Baroda; and the sect may have spread its influence in the neighbourhood of the place of its origin. That it was current in the northern portion of west Malwa also where the present record was obtained, is known from the fact that at a place known as Moḍī, which is only at a short distance of about seven miles from Indragarh, there still stands an old temple of Lakuliśa,² and at Jhālra-Pāṭan, which is about 25 miles from it, was found an inscription in which a sage of the name of Iśānamu (ni) is compared to Lakuliśa.³ This information gleaned from our record not only strengthens D. R. Bhandarkar's suggestion that

1. Cf. Gunarāśi (Rajsthan), *E. I.*, XXIV, p. 330; Rudrarāśi (Lāta), *I. A.*, VIII, p. 209; Hārītarāśi (Chittore), *I. A.*, XXIX, p. 189 and Karttikarāśi and Vālmīkirāśi of the Chintra *prastāsi*. *E. I.*, I, p. 281.

2. *P. R. A. S.*, *N. C.*, 1912-3, p. 56.

3. *JBBRAS.*, XXII, p. 158.

the descendents of the second of the disciples of Lakuliśa, viz. Garga, established themselves in Kathiawar,¹ but also supplements it by showing that the sect had then spread in the whole of the region roughly comprising Gujarat, Kathiawar and Malwa.

Ll. 14—5 of the record mention that Durgāditya, son of Śaṅkara, who hailed from Gauḍadeśa (Bengal), was the first to perform on the spot, the worship of the spiritual ancestors (probably by worshipping the newly-installed image there). This shows a sort of cultural contact between the two distant regions—Malwa and Bengal. We know that the Pāsupata sect was current in a latter age under the Kalachuris who erected temples, established Śaiva monasteries and made gifts to them. The *adhiṣṭhātās* of these institutions are known to have come from Gujarāt. Thus the whole tract from Gujarat-kathiawar in the west to Bengal in the east appears to have embraced this sect from the time of its origination.

Ll. 11—2 of the record are important as they give us an idea of what may have been the current practice in the age, viz. making the people of the locality exclusively responsible for undertaking the repairs of the temple and allowing others who may desire to do so. This implies the existence of a village council at the place and shows its function.

The record does not mention the name of the place where the temple was built; but traces of a rampart wall and inhabited houses inside it, along with some images dug out at the site and ascribable to about the same time, go to show that it was the very site of the huge structure, which is said to be “as high as the *Mandarāchala*”, in a poetic way. The use of the expression *nagara* suggests the site to have been a very thriving place at the time, which is testified to by the ancient remains found there.

The name of the composer of the record is not to be found in it; but its engraver is stated to be one Chāmuṇḍasoma, who was himself a great ascetic.

The prose portion in the end (ll. 15-9) records an endowment of hall constructed inside the *koṭṭa* (fort) by three daughters of a Kumāra of the Prāgvāṭa caste, their names being mentioned as Deullikā, Takshullika and Bhoginikā, which appear to be Sanskritised forms of Devalī, Takli and Bhogī. This hall faced the east and was bounded on this side by a grazing-yard and a lane, on the south, by the last habitation on this side, on the north, by the wall of the hall itself, and on the west, by another lane beyond which was a house, facing it and on its west. While giving the boundaries of this latter house, the record abruptly comes to an end, after mentioning a lane to its east and merely with the expression *dakṣiṇataḥ*, though there is space enough for engraving some more lines.

TEXT¹

Metres:—vv. 1, 4 and 6, *Sragdharā*; vv. 2, 3 and 8, *Sardūlavikṛitā*; and vv. 5, 7 and 9-15, *Anaśṭubh*.

१. ओं^२ नमः शिवाय ॥ सूचीपातेन^३ सद्यः प्रचलति वसुधा कम्पते नागराजः
पादोद्घातेन नीतो ध्वज इव धवलो दुः^४खमिन्दुर्विभाति । दोर्हण्डेश्व भ्रमद्भिः पुन
२. रपि गिरयो जातपक्षाः^४ प्रयान्ति यस्मिन्निस्थं प्रवृत्ते भवति जगदिदं सोस्तुभूय
भवो वः ॥ (११॥*) प्राप्तं तस्य फलं मयाद्य तपसो यत्तत्कृतं त^६त्पुरः यन्मे मधि
३. पदं करोति हर हे त्वल्ललिता जाल्लवी ।^७ गेहं यामि पितुर्गृहाण तनयं सोढुं न
शक्तास्म्यहं^८ एवं मन्युभरालसं गिरिजया प्रोक्तो हरः पातु वः ॥ (२१॥*) श्रीमत्कंकण
४. पद्मगेन्द्रशिरसि ज्वालावली भासुरो यस्तिष्ठत्यमलो मणिस्तदुदरे संक्रान्त बिम्ब
(बिम्ब) द्युति । रूपं भर्तुरपे (वे)^९क्षय लज्जितमुखी गौरी मनोहर्षणं रोमांचं
दधती^{१०} विवाहसमये नित्यं शिवायास्तु वः ॥ (३१॥*) यस्मिन्दृष्टेरिवृन्दं घटित-

1. From my own ink-impression and the original.

2. Expressed by a symbol.

3. The intended reading is probably *pātena* and not *yātena*. The expression means : "by the event of (whose) dramatic action or mode of dancing."

4. The *Visarga* is faintly engraved and therefore not discernible in the impression.

5. The double *na* is visible in the original.

6. The *tat* is unnecessarily repeated here.

7. Note the *daṇḍa* engraved only as a dot, as also after *bhāvitatāmā* in 1. 8.

8. Note the use of *anusvāra* before the vowel *e*. It should be *mevāḥ*.

9. *Ve* is clearly visible in the original.

10. Here is an ornamental flourish, not fully come out on the impression.

गजघटापीठमप्याहवेषु क्षिप्रं याति प्रणाशं क्रमसमुपचितं स्वं परित्यज्य मा ६. नं
 (१*) भामानस्य प्रसूतिः प्रकटितयशसो राष्ट्रकूटान्वयस्य श्रीगणेशस्यः स राजा
 जयति निजगुणैरज्जिताशेषलोकः ॥ (४॥*) आसीत्याशुयताचार्यो ७. रुद्रशृङ्खलिका-
 प्रणीः (१*) विनीतराशिसंज्ञो यः शान्तः प्रसवगोचरी^{११} ॥ (५॥) यः ख्यातो भूतले-
 स्मिन्प्रकटपृथुयशः सत्यभक्तः सुशान्तो विद्वां (द्वान्) ८. ज्ञानी कृतज्ञः सकल-
 वसुमतीमण्डनो भावितात्मा (१*) नित्यं राज्ञां समूहैर्नतचरणपुगशब्द (ब्द)-
 शास्त्रैस्व (ब्द) भिज्जानिष्ठयन्त्रैः^{१२} शिष्यसंघै रनवरतमभिष्टूय ९. मानः सुशीलैः
 ॥ (६॥)* अभवत्तस्य शिष्यो यः^{१३} तपश्शक्त्या ज्वलन्निव । दा^{१४}नराशिरिति
 ख्यातः शशांककर निम्मलः ॥ ॥ (७॥*) शास्त्रार्थप्रविचारनिम्मलमतिर्वर्ग १०. गुमी
 गुणैर्भू वितः शान्तात्मा प्रथमः प्रकाशयशसां नित्यं दयालुर्भू शं । योगाभ्यासवशावती-
 न्द्रियगतज्ञानेन यो विश्रुतः शिष्याध्यापनसक्तयो ११. रतितराममीशस्य कार्ये रतः
 ॥ (८॥*) स्वयम्भोलोकनाथस्य शैलं शीलवता स्वयं^{१५} तेनेदं कारितं दिव्यं मन्दिरं
 मन्दरोपमं ॥ (९॥*) खण्डस्फुटितसंस्कारः^{१६} १२. स्वातंत्र्यं चात्र कीर्तने । नगरेणैव
 कर्त्तव्यं सर्वसंज्ञाकारिणा ॥ (१०॥) अपरोपि हि यः कश्चिन्न^{१७}गरानुमते स्थितः ।
 पुनः करोति संस्कारं तस्यानुज्ञातमे १३. व हि ॥ (११॥*) यावद्भूलोकपालाश्च
 यावच्चाम्बु (बु) धयः स्थिराः । तावदास्तां स्थिरं शम्भोरिदमायतनं महत् ॥ (१२)
 सप्तषष्ठ्यधिके याते वर्षाणां शतसप्तके । १४. मालवानां नरेन्द्राणां पृथिव्यां विश्रु-
 तात्मनां ॥ (१३*) हंसकारण्डवक्रौञ्चवनिनादसुभगेनिले । काले शरदि संप्राप्ते कृतं
 देवालयं त्विदं^{१८} ॥ (१४*) गौडदेशोद्भव १५. स्येयं शंकरस्यात्मजेन तु । दुर्गादि-
 त्येन विहिता पूर्वा पूर्वजपूजना^{१९} (१५) उत्कीर्णा महाव्रतिना चामुण्डसोमेन ॥ (२०)^{२०} ॥
 प्राग्वाटजात्यः कुमारः^{२१} त १६. स्य दुहितरः देउल्लिकातक्षुल्लिका भोगिनिकाः तृक्ष

11. *Rudra-srīṅghalīkāgrāṇīh*—the foremost among the line of succession of the preceptors of the sect. *Prasava-gochari* subsisting on the products of a tree; Cf. “*phala-mūla-kandāśanaḥ*” in *I. H. Q.*, XXVI, p. 13.

12. It means “equipped with the faculty of grammar.”

13. *Sandhi* not observed.

14. This letter is mutilated by the scratch.

15. The lower part of the *danḍa* is faintly visible on the stone and the upper part of it is joined to the *e-mātrā*.

16. Note the colloquialism here as in Hindi *Khāṇḍā-phūṭā*; it means- to make repairs to breaks and cracks.

17. The double *na*, which is visible on the original, is too faint to come out on the impression.

18. The *tu* is redundant here.

19. The underlying idea of this verse probably is that a Durgāditya established a *Śiva-līṅga* on the *samādhi* of his ancestors whom he had buried there.

20. This symbol indicates the end of the formal portion of the record.

21. *Sandhi* is not observed throughout the following portion; nor do we find the necessary punctuation marks.

(तिष्ठो)पि स्वप्रतिपत्याः²² प्रतिग्रहपात्रं प्रयच्छन्ति यदेवां इह कोट्टाभ्यन्तरे
 अववरकः²³ पूर्वाभिमुखः (:*) प्रतिग्रहापि १७. तः (:*) यस्याघाटनानि पूर्वतो²⁴
 अङ्गणं क्षुरभोग्यं²⁵ सवीथि च (।*) दक्षिणतो अन्तिम²⁶ गृहसर्पादा पश्चिम (प्र)तो-
 लिका यातः (।*) उत्तरतोऽस्यैवो (वा)वरक भित्तिमर्पादा (।*) एवं चतुराधा²⁷
 १८. दनोऽलक्षितः परलोकसाधनार्थं (थं) गुहेश्वराय प्रतिपादितमिति²⁸॥
 इहकोट्टाभ्यन्तरे पश्चिमप्रतोलीसमीपे पूर्वाभिमुखं गृहं यस्याघाटनानि पूर्वतः
 रथ्यामा १९. र्गः दक्षिणतः²⁹

22. The dots of the *Visarga* are so engraved as to make it appear as *t*, joined to the following letter.

23. The dots of the *Visarga* are engraved just on the latter part of *ka*.

24. It should be either *Pūrvataḥ aṅgaṇam* or *pūrvato' nganaṇam*. So also in *dakṣiṇataḥ*, which follows.

25. To be enjoyed or utilised by hoofed animals, i.e. a grazing ground.

26. The *ma* is engraved below the *ti*.

27. After *ghā* a letter was first engraved and then scratched out, it being unnecessary.

28. Here there is a violation, of the concord of gender between *lakṣitah* and *pratipāditaṁ*.

29. It is not known why the record remains incomplete here, without mentioning the boundaries of the house, though there is space enough.

BIHAR IN KĀLIDĀSA'S WORKS.*

By

Prof. Radhakrishna Chowdhary

The vast treasure of Sanskrit literature is an important store-house of historical information. The encyclopaedic nature of Kālidāsa's works has been proved by the recent researchers, who have called out every bit of information relating to different aspects of human knowledge. In this paper an attempt has been made to bring to light some important information relating to Bihār as known to Kālidāsa. The poet has covered some important places and rivers of Bihār in some of his works. A critical evaluation of those place names, with the help of other sources leads us to believe that Kālidāsa based his findings not on any fanciful imagination but on actual knowledge of the place and the subject.

Magadha

Kālidāsa has mentioned Magadha, Anga, Videha and the names of some of the important rivers like the Ganges, the Soṇe, the Kośī and various confluences of rivers in Bihār. Magadha¹ figures prominently in four ślokas of the sixth canto of the *Raghuvamśa*.²

*I have used the following texts:—

1. *Kālidāsa Granthāvalī*—Kāśī—Samvata 2007.
2. N. L. Dey:— *The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India*. London—1927.
3. Martin—*Eastern Indias*, Vols. I and III.
4. Mcrindle—*Ancient India*.
5. Kautilya—*Arthasāstra*.
6. Pargiter—*Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*.
7. Spence Hardy—*Manual of Buddhism*.
8. *Mithilā Māhātmya*—(Darbhanga Edition)
9. *Mudrārākṣas*.
- Other sources are indicated at proper places.
1. *Atharva-veda*—v. 22, 14; XV.2 (in connection with the Vratyas); *Rāmāyaṇa*—Ādikāṇḍa. Chapter 3 2; *Śantiparva* (MBH) chapter. 24.
2. *Raghuvamśa*—VI, 21-24.

- (1) असौ शरभ्यः शरणोन्मुखा नामगाधसत्त्वो मगधः³ प्रतिष्ठः ।
 राजा प्रजारञ्जनलब्धवर्णः परंतपो नाम यथार्थनामा ॥२१॥
- (2) कामं नृपाः सन्तु सहस्रशोऽन्ये राजन्वतीमाहुरनेन भूमिम् ।
 नक्षत्रताराग्रहसंकुलापि ज्योतिष्मती चन्द्रमसैव रात्रिः ॥२२॥
- (3) क्रियाप्रबन्धादयमध्वराणामजलमाहृतसहस्रनेत्रः ।
 शय्यादिचरं पाण्डुकपोललम्बात्मन्दारशून्यानलकाश्चकार ॥२३॥
- (4) अनेन चेदिच्छसि गृह्यमानं पाणि वरेभ्येन कुरु प्रवेशे ।
 प्रासादवातायनसंश्रितानां नेत्रोत्सवं पुष्पपुराङ्गनानाम्⁴ ॥२४॥

Magadha,⁵ one of the few centres of India renowned in history for her imperial glory for more than thousand years, is generally identified with South Bihar. There is no doubt that Kālidāsa refers to the imperial glory of Magadha under the Guptas (Samudragupta and Chandragupta II).

The attributes, ascribed to the Magadhan king in the above Ślokas, are decidedly meant for the imperial Gupta monarchs who are reputed for being *Prajārañjana* (प्रजारंजन) and lenient towards the vanquished. One of the important policies of Samudragupta was to give shelter or protection to those conquered monarchs who accepted his suzerainty. The magnificence of Puṣpapura, referred to by the poet, bears eloquent testimony to the fact that he refers to the glorious epoch of the Guptas.

The Śone river.

The western boundary of Magadha was the river Śone⁶

3. Kālidāsa treats its king with a particular reference. Parantapa is mighty both in words and deeds. Just as a night, full of planets and stars, is called moonlit simply by the presence of a moon, similarly this earth is called 'राजन्वती' because of Parantapa, though there are many smaller kings in name.

Through successive sacrifices, he has been able to bring down Indra to his palace as a result of which Indra's wife has left decorating herself (In the absence of her husband, she has paled into insignificance). If you wish to marry, do it and on your arrival at Puṣpapura, the female folk of that place will be satisfied to see your beauty.

4. Puṣpapura is an old name of Pāṭaliputra inhabited by rich and the noble. Cf. *Mudrārākṣas*—Act I.

5. Dey—Op. Cit., pp. 116-7; holds that it extended from the south of the Ganges from Benares to Monghyr and south wards as far as Singbhum.

6. Dey—Op. Cit., P. 116 and 188. of Martin Op. Cit.,—I., P. II. Mcrinde, P. 187 (Note.)

which formerly joined the Ganges at Maner a little above Bān-
kipur. Our poet also refers to this confluence. In one of the
Ślokas, he refers to the wildness of this river and shows how the
Śone succeeds in checking the rise of the Ganges during the
rains.

Raghuvaṃśā—vii. 36. *Sarju-Gangā Confluence*

तस्याः स रक्षार्थमनत्ययोधमादिश्य पित्र्यं सचिवं कुमारः ।

प्रत्यग्रहीत्पार्थिववाहिनीं तां भागरथीं शोण इवोत्तरङ्गः ॥३६॥

Though written in a purely conventional literary style, the poet
has succeeded in bringing to light the exact location and point
of imformation about this confluence. While referring to the im-
portance of Sarju-Gangā¹ he revels in the description of the
merit acquired through a bath at this confluence² near Chapra.
He further says that the death at this spot could win for a man
the rank of the Gods and Aja's case has been illustrated to bear
out the point.

Raghuvaṃśā—viii-95.

तीर्थे तोयव्यतिकर भवे जहनुकन्यासरयवो-

दहत्यागदमरगणनालेरव्यमासाद्य सद्यः ।

पूर्वाकाराधिकतरश्चा संगतः कान्तयासौ

लीलागारेऽवरमत पुनर्नन्दनाभ्यन्तरेषु ॥९५॥

Besides these important confluences, he also mentions two
important water falls viz.—Gaṅgāprapāta³ & Mahākośīprapāta.⁴
Thus within a short compass, he has given us the details of di-
fferent rivers regarding their origin, course, religious merit and
the like.

Anga

Anga has been mentioned conventionally. It was Co-

1. Gangā finds mentions at a number of places in his works—*Raghuvaṃśā*—
IV. 73; VI. 48; VII. 36; VIII. 95; XIII. 57; XIV. 3; 26. 29; *Kumārasam-
bhavam* I. 30, 54; VI. 37. 70. and at various places.

2. *Raghuvaṃśā*—XIV. 3 आनन्दजः शोकजमश्च वाष्पस्तयोरशीतं शिशिरो विभेद ।

गंगा सरय्वोर्जलमुष्णतप्तं हिमाग्निस्फ्यन्द इवावतीर्णः ३

It would not be out of place to mention here that Kālidāsa also refers to
the Triveni Sāngam at Prayāga at a number of places—Vide—*Raghu-
vaṃśā*—VI. 48; XIII. 54. 58 discussing the merits of a bath here; *Vikramor-
vasiyam*—II. 14.

3. *Raghu*—II. 26

4. *Kumar*.—VI. 33. } They become slow when they reach the place.

terminus with Magadha.¹ The place has been associated with persons, expert in taming and maintaining elephants. It is known to us from Kālidāsa.

Ragu—VI 27.

जगादचैनामयमङ्गनाथा सुराङ्गनाप्राथितयौवनश्रीः ।

विनीतनागः किल सूत्रकारैरेन्द्रं पदं भूमिगतोऽपि भुङ्क्ते ॥२७॥

We know from different sources that Aṅga played a very important part in the history of ancient India and in the age of the Rāmāyaṇa, the friendliest relations of Kośala were the eastern kingdoms of Videha, Aṅga and Magadha.² Kauṭilya also refers to the Aṅga elephants and says that the elephants of Aṅga and Kaliṅga belong to the best of their types.³ Champāpuri, the capital of Aṅga, is said to have been the birth place of Pālkāpya muni, the author of the celebrated *Hastyāyurveda*, a treatise on the diseases of elephants.⁴

Mithilā

The next important place mentioned by him is Mithilā or Videha. The following ślokas from the *Raghuvamśaṃ* will give us an idea.

X1.32—तं न्यमन्त्रयत संभृतक्रतुर्मथिलः स मिथिलां व्रजन्वशी ।

राघवावपि निनाय विभ्रतौ तद्वनुःश्रवणं कुतूहलम् ॥३२॥

X1.33—तैः शिवेषु वसतिर्गताध्वभिः सायमाश्रमतर्ह्वगृह्यत ।

येषु दीर्घतपसः परिग्रहो वासवक्षणकलत्रता ययौ ॥३३॥

X1.34—प्रत्यपद्यत चिराय यत्पुनश्चारु गौतमबधूः शिलामयी ।

स्वं वधुः स किल किल्बिषच्छिदां रामपादरजसामनुग्रहः ॥३४॥

X1.35—Gives further details.

X1.36—तौ विदेहनगरोनिवासिनां गांगताविव दिवः पुनर्वसू ।

मन्यते स्म पिबतां विलोचनैः पक्ष्मपातमपि वञ्चनां मनः ॥३६॥

X1.52—आससाद् मिथिलां स वेष्टयन्पीडितोपवनपादपां बलैः ॥

1. *Raghu*—VI. 27-30.

2. Pargiter—*Op. Cit.*, p. 276.

3. Kauṭilya—II. 2.

4. Dey, P. 44. It is definite that by Kālidāsa's time, Aṅga formed a part of the great Magadhan Empire. Kālidāsa means to say that because of his elephant forces, the king of Aṅga was regarded as Indra on this earth. He also refers to the extremely beautiful type of women there.

A summary of the above is as follows—Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa with Viśwāmitra heard about the Dhanuṣa-Yajña to be held at the court of Janaka in Mithilā and expressed their desire to go and participate in the function. Viśwāmitra willingly agreed and took them. On their way it became dark and they stayed for rest near Ahalyāśrama. As soon as Rāma touched the stone (Śilā), Ahalyā came to life with her paistine beauty. Having got this news, Janaka advanced to receive them with honour. People were overjoyed to see the sight of those two brothers passing through the green field of Mithilā. Then follows a story of Rāma's success and the arrival of Daśaratha in connection with the marriage of his sons. It appears that Kālidāsa has based his account on the *Rāmāyaṇa*. There is no doubt that his mention of Videha is conventional. Let us verify it from other sources.

Mithilā, called *Miyulu*¹ by the Budhists, was the capital of Videha.² A graphic account of Mithilā, and her fortifications is preserved in another source.³ A detailed account of Mithilā's boundary, river system, places of pilgrimages (tirthas) and their importance in order of precedence, is preserved in the account already referred to. The old controversy about the location of Ahalyāśrams or Ahalyāsthāna may be taken up here for dis-

1. Hardy—*Op. Cit.*, p. 196.

2. *Bhāgavata*—Part IX. Chapter 13.

3. *Mithilā—Māhātmya*—pp. 70-75. Mithilā awaits expert excavator's spade. No attempt has yet been made to study her past on the basis of archaeological records. Her frequent mention in a number of Purāṇas and other literature bears testimony to the fact that she has a brilliant past. Let us hope that the authorities of the Jayaswal Institute will, in no time, spare no pains to take up excavation works here, on the basis of the *Data* supplied by literature.

दुर्गं जनकराजस्य परिखात्रितयान्वितम् ।
 नैकशालं समुत्सेधं स्वर्णकुट्टिममण्डितम् ॥
 वणिजामापणैर्युक्तं वीरावासविराजितम् ।
 निमिर्वंशप्रसूतानां गृहरत्नैस्तु शोभितम् ॥
 तन्मध्ये राजराजस्य स्फटिकं मंदिरम्बरम् ।
 वामे कुशध्वजावातं गृहरत्नैः समन्वितम् ॥

cussion on the basis of the data supplied by our poet. Dr. Bhāgwat Sarāṇa Upādhyāya in his "*India in Kālidāsa*" has identified this place with Ahalyāghāṭa at Buxar in the Shāhābād district. We have to keep in mind that according to the poet, it was evening when they (the party) reached the place and took rest for the whole night and thence proceeded to Janakapur, the place of Dhanusa-Yajña. In my opinion, it should be identified with the village Ahiāri (Ahalyāsthāna) in pargana Jarail to the south-west of Janakpur. Ahiāri is near Kamtaul station of the N. E. R. Mithilā was the abode of famous Ṛṣis and there is no doubt why this tradition should not be accepted when the authority, referred to above support the point even in matters of direction.¹

Mithila Māhātmya, pp. 70-75.

Mandāra

The frequent mention of Mandāra² is yet another problem to be solved. Kālidāsa mentions it in the *Kumārasambhavam*.

राजराजगृहोपान्ते गजाश्वभवनानि च ।
 गोपुरप्राग्भवं द्वारं तदन्तर्वर्तिनी सभा ॥
 × ×
 एवमादिप्रकारेण दिव्यसम्पत्सुशोभितम् ।
 दुर्गे दुर्गोत्तमं दिव्यं विख्यातं भुवनत्रये ॥
 समारभ्य महाभाग पूर्वं हरिहरालयम् ।
 तथा मैत्रेयनिदिष्टं पश्चिमो वा जलेश्वरम् ॥
 गिरिजालयमारभ्य यावद्द्वं धनुषः स्थितः ।
 इति दुर्गस्य मर्यादा मिथिला सा महापुरी ॥

1. Ibid. pp. 19-20.

निवसन्ति प्रयत्नेन रामाराधनहेतवे ।
 विश्वामित्रस्तु पूर्वस्यांदिशि वासमकल्पयत् ॥
 विभाण्डको महायोगी दक्षिणे निवसत्यसौ ।
 गौतमस्याश्रमं पुण्यंयाम्यपश्चिमकोणके ॥

2. *Anuśāsan Parva*—chapter 19; *Vanaparva*, Chap. 162—recognises Mandāra of the Himālayan range "*Kurmāchala*"

VII. २३—पद्मनाभचरणाङ्कितामसु प्राप्तवत्स्वमृतविप्रुषो नवाः।

मन्दरस्य कटकेषु चावसत्पार्वतीवदनपद्मषट्पदः ॥२३॥

VIII. 59—मन्दरान्तरितमूर्तिना निशा लक्ष्यते शशभृता सतारका।

Śiva reached Mandāra from Meru and from Mandāra he went to Kubera's Capital Kailāsha and then to Gandhamādāna and so on. It seems that Kālidāsa has based his account on the Mahābhārata regarding Mandāra in the Himālayas. Mandāra bears the imprint of Viṣṇu's feet and some drops of the nectar churned out of ocean (VIII. 23). According to the Purāṇas,¹ Viṣṇu bore the weight of the mountain on his back when the ocean was being churned. It is further stated therein that Mandāra is situated on the south of the Ganges and on the Vindhya range.² This Mandāra is situated in the Bhagalpur district. Another reference³ informs us that in Mandāra every kind of fruit is available in almost all the seasons. The river Kamalā is said to be the daughter of Himavat Mandārāchel.⁴ This leads support to Kālidāsa's Mandāra in the Himālayas.

Kośi

Let us now take up an account of the Kośi, one of the oldest rivers of northern India and especially of Bihar, as known to Kālidāsa. He refers to the Mahākośiprapāta. It is by this fall that Śive awaits the return of seven sages who went to the Himālaya, the father of Pārvatī, to negotiate for the marriage of Śive with his daughter.

Kumārasambhavam VI. 33.

तत्प्रयातौषधिप्रस्थं सिद्धये हिमवत्पुरम्।

महाकोशीप्रपातेऽस्मिन् संगमः पुनरेव नः ॥३३॥

1. *Kūrma*—chap. I; *Vāman*—chap. 90.

2. *Vārāh*—Chap. 143; For Sanctity of Caadāra etc; see, *Yogini Tantra*—Part II, chap 4; *Nṛsiṃhapurāṇa*, chapter 65.

3. Mithilā Māhātmya—P. 75—

मन्दारवनमित्येव सर्वतः पुष्पितद्रुमम्

4. Ibid—P. 211—

मन्दराचलसम्भृता हिमाद्रौ तपसि स्थिता।

कमला चेति विख्याता तपस्तप्त्वा सुदुष्करम् ॥

This account also lends support to the view that there is another Mandāra in the Himālayas besides the one in the Bhagalpur district. Kamalā's origin from the Himālayas (Mandarāchal.) further supports it.

Mahākośi is the joint stream¹ of seven Kośis, viz. Milmachi, Soṇa Kośi or the Bhutea Kośi, the Dudha Kośi, the Tām̐bā Kośi, the Arun Kośi, the Likhu Kośi and the Tāmar. Of these the important streams are the Soṇa and Arun Kośi. These seven rivulets form a Triveni of Tāmar, Arun and Soṇa over Bārāhakṣetra at a point close to which the united Kośis issue into the plains. It is undoubtedly a very old river.² The Junction of the Ganges and the Kośi must have taken place between 3rd. and 7th. century A.D.³

On the authority of *Vanaparva*, it has been pointed out that the confluence of Dr̥ṣadvatī and Kauśikī was considered to be a very sacred spot. In Bihar, we are not aware of any other Saṅgam (with Kośi) except Kauśikī-Ganga Saṅgam in Mithilā. The *Mithilā Māhātmya*, while giving details about all the rivers of Mithilā, does not say anything about Kośi's connection or confluence with Dr̥ṣadvatī. Its confluence with the Ganges was known as Kauśikī-tirtha or Saṅgam.⁴

Thus a brief survey of Kālidāsa's account of Bihar gives us a good deal of information. I have not discussed other details here but I am sure that if anybody takes up the work, relating to various other aspects, will gain much. There are preserved the minutest details of flora and fauna and necessary

1. *Padmapurāṇa*—chapter 19; *Vanaparva*. chapter 84; JĀSB—XVII, P. 644, 638; 647 and map at page 761.

2. *Rāmāyaṇa*—Ādikāṇḍ. Chapter 34; *Vārāṇṣipurāṇa*, chapter 140.

3. a Martin—*Op. Cit.* III, p. 84.

From the Purāṇas we learn that Kośi was a branch of Dr̥ṣadvatī (Chitang) in Kurukṣetra area. My friend. Mr. R. C. Agrawal, in his recent article "*Kurukṣetra in the Later Sanskrit literature*" (I. H. Q. XXXI. 1955—pp. 1-31) has referred to the confluence of the Kauśikī and Dr̥ṣadvatī. Relying on the authority of the *Purāṇas*, the *Epic* and *Vedic Index* (II. P. 95), it has been pointed out that Kauśikī was a litetary of Sarasvatī. My friend has not cared to identify the Kauśikī perhaps because he was concerned with the Kurukṣetra region only. My submission on this point is that the mention of Kauśikī, in the sources Quoted by him, is purely conventional showing the importance of different confluences and also of the Kauśikī. Sarasvatī was a holy river of haloed memory and that is why Kauśikī has been made its tributary. Kauśikī is also referred to in various works and inscription and no where it has been shown beyond the boundary of Bengal and Bihar. To me it seems that the above casual reference simply points to the antiquity of Kauśikī and nothing more.

4. Dey—*Op. Cit.*, p. 243.

hints on the geographical routes not only of Bihar but the whole of India. Ancient geography of Bihar is still a desideratum and any attempt on this subject will not be successful without the study of these Sanskrit writers. Even the minutest details of anything did not escape the extremely critical eyes of Kālidāsa. Mark Collins¹ observes—"The geographical fancies of an early age are similarly propagated from generation to generation and sometimes and their way centuries later into the Sober pages of technical literature."

1. Mark Collins—"The Geographical data of the *Raghuvamśa* and *Daśakumāra-charita*", p. 8.

BHAGĪRATHAPUR INSCRIPTION OF ANUMATI DEVĪ

By

Ramānāth Jhā.

The find of this beautiful and important inscription at a place where no one ever dreamt of finding a relic of such a high antiquity is a unique event in the history of Mithila. The value of Inscriptions in the re-construction of the history of a country cannot be overstated, and it was, indeed, a matter of great regret that very few inscriptions of really old times were found in the country of Mithila. Kaviśwara Chandā Jhā had come across some very old inscriptions which he described only in his own note-books, some of which are available, but the original inscriptions are all lost. Only one small inscription found at Kandāhā has been brought to the notice of the students interested in Mithila's glorious past (J. B.O.R. S. vol. XX-1934/part I, 15-19). The inscription which I have the great pleasure of bringing to the notice of the learned world is about two generations later than the Kandāhā inscription but in points of artistic beauty as well as the light it throws upon the history of Mithila, it is much more important than the Kandāhā Inscription found some twenty years ago.

We are indebted to the medical practitioner of Pandaul, Dr. Raj Kumar Miśra, for bringing the existence of an inscription at Pandaul into our notice. About a mile north of the Pandaul Bazar in the subdivision of Madhubani, by the side of the District Board Road from Pandaul to Bhaurā and Madhubani, south of the famous village of Birasāera, there is an old bed of the river Kamalā curving suddenly from a south-westerly direction to the north-east and there is a shrine called "SATĪ MĀI KA STHĀNA" just where the river takes the sudden turn. The bend of the river with the SATI-STHANA lies just beside the road on the eastern side and not even a furlong to the south-west of this spot, the ruins of a temple have been

unearthed at a distance of some 20 yards west of the road in the middle of the cultivated fields. The particular plot of land where this temple has been unearthed was comparatively higher than the neighbouring lands and almost barren, and the owner tried to improve it by cutting away the earth from the field, when to his surprise he found that the whole field was full of brick bats. The more he dug into the field, the more came out the bricks and when this news reached Dr. Rajkumar Miśra, he sent words to my friend and colleague, Prof. K. K. Miśra of C. M. College, who went there with a batch of his students and after digging about two feet deep, the entire shape of the temple became clear and a stone slab, 52 inches long and 9 inches broad, was found lying buried, on which there is incised this beautiful inscription which is being reproduced here.

The entire area described above is now under cultivation and the nearest habitation is a cluster of huts of poor Mohamadons at a distance of more than a furlong on the south east. This area, however, is still called "Rāma Bāga" which is very significant, specially as there is not even the trace of a garden left and not even the oldest people of the locality could say if there was ever a garden here to justify the name of the "Bāg" to the area. Less than a furlong south of the ruins unearthed there is a tank in ruins. It has been filled up on all sides and most of it has been converted into paddy fields but there are still remains of the tank at the centre, full of lotuses and other water plants. It is clear that at one time this must have been a good tank of considerable size. To me, therefore, it appears that about the time when the temple in ruins was erected there was a beautiful garden here with a good tank in it and the whole garden was either laid out or it was very dear to king Rāmabhadra Deva, after whom it is named Rāmabāg, so that when the widow of that king had to construct a temple, she chose this spot as the proper site for the same. I also think that there might be the ruins of a palace of king Rāmabhadra somewhere near about but that can be ascertained only after the work of digging is carried on at some more length on all the sides of the

ruins just unearthed. The lands just north and north-west of the plot unearthed are comparatively high and as the temple was facing north, it is not quite clear what might have been there in front of the temple. It is, however, in the direction of the bend in the course of the river and that is not without significance. I state all this to suggest that this site is promising of rich returns and if properly excavated may yield finds that may throw a flood of light on the history of the period. It may not be out of place to mention here that only a mile north of this site, there is the famous village of Birasāer associated with the name of Vireśvara, whose son the great jurist Chaṇḍeshwara was and I have been told by my friend Dr. Subhadra Jha M.A., D. Lit. (Pat. and Paris) that one of his relations living in that village built a whole house with the bricks unearthed in one of his fields, like the field where this old temple has been unearthed in Bhagīrathapur. Only about 2 miles west of this site is the famous village of Jarahaṭiā, a village associated with the name of Harinārāyaṇa Bhairva Singh. Less than two miles east of the site is the village of Bhavānīpur associated with the name of the poet Vidyāpati where the Vidyāpati-Kūpa has only recently been renovated with the munificence of the Mahārājādhirāja of Darbhanga—Panda-ul itself is an ancient site in the history of Mithila, and Sakkurīpura, modern Sakri, is very closely associated with the history of Mithila till it was sacked in the year 1324. This site, therefore, falls in an area historical in importance and if further excavations are made on the site and near about, I am confident we shall find clues to reconstruct the history of Mithila with epigraphical and archaeological materials.

सिद्धिः । स्नुषा हरिनारायणक्षितिपतेर्गतेः क्षमाभृतां

वधून्तृपतिमण्डलीमहित-राम-भूमीपतेः ।

द्विजोत्तममुखप्रदा नृपति-कंसनारायण-

प्रवीर-जननी मुदा मठमचीकरत्सुन्दरम् ॥१॥ (Line 1)

दानैर्यथा दलयाम्बभूव जगतां दारिद्र्यमत्युद्धटं

कीर्त्या या शरदिन्दुसुन्दरतरान् लोकांश्चकारायुतान् ।

किञ्चोच्चैर्विवनयाज्ञयाच्च वशतां नीता यया बान्धवाः
 सेयं विश्वविलक्षणोज्ज्वलगुणग्रामा मठस्त्रिर्ममे ॥ ॥२॥ (Line 2)
 वेदरन्ध्रहरनेत्रचिह्निते लक्ष्मणस्य नृपतेर्मतेन्दके ।
 विश्वविश्रुतगुणा गुणालयं देवतालयममुं मुदाकरोत् ॥३॥
 कविता माधव- मुकवेः कीर्तिद्वयाः सुधाम्बुधिसफीता ।
 त्रिभुवनभुवना—(Line 3) भोगे विलसतु कल्पान्तपर्यन्तम् ॥४॥
 देवी देवालयमियममुं कारयामास कृच्छ्रे
 भक्ता नवतन्दिनमनुमतिर्द्धर्मकर्मनिरुक्ता ।
 येषांशेषे जगति जगतीनाथनाथस्य योषा
 भूषाभूता विविधविधया रूपनारायणस्य ॥ (Line 4) ५॥
 ००का कीर्त्ति००र(म्या) कुलधर-कविना कीर्त्तनीयानुमत्या
 (न) (क्षा) (मा) कापि लक्ष्मी-रवनि-मुपगता माधवाराधनाय ।
 सूनुज्ज्यायान् यदीयो यवनपतिभयाघायकस्तीरभुवती
 राजाराजाधिराजः समर-सरभसः कंसनारायणोसौ, (Line 5)

॥.....॥..... दि श्रीमदनुमतिदेवीनामाज्ञया

अतिप्रणतेन (ग)या पुत्रेण...मठनिर्माणं कारितमिति शुभमस्तु ॥ Line 6

Translation of the Text.

1. Daughter-in-law of Harinārāyaṇa, the lord of the earth, who was a refuge to kings; wife of king Rāma, who was celebrated in the circle of kings; and mother of the great warrior king Kamsanārāyaṇa—the lady, who gave delight to the best of the Brāhmaṇas, got this beautiful temple (Maṭha) erected.

2. Through her gifts she destroyed the extra-ordinary poverty of the world; through her glory she rendered tens of thousands of people more beautiful than the autumn moon; through her modesty and her prudences she brought her relatives under control; such a repository of bright virtues, unique in the world, got this temple built.

3. In the year signed as 394 approved by king Lakshmaṇa, this lady of world-renowned fame got this abode of the god, full of good qualities, constructed with pleasure.

4. (This) poetry of the good poet Mādhava and (this) glory of the lady, thriving as the sea of nectar, may shine till eternity in the regions of the three worlds.

5. The faithful lady, Anumati, who was engaged day and night in the deeds of piety, got this abode of the god constructed in the course of an austerity—the lady who was the wife of Rūspanārāyaṇa, the lord of the lords of the earth, and who was, in different ways, like an ornament in the whole world.

6. It was some Lakshmi, Goddess of wealth and success, not emaciated, who had come over to the earth for the devotion of Mādhava, whose eldest son, a terror in Tirhut to the king of Yavanas, is this king of kings, Kamsanārāyaṇa, with a passion for war.

By orders of Anumati Devi, full of glory, the construction of this temple was made by the most obedient, Gaya's son,May this be auspicious. May there be success.

It is clear from the Inscription that this stone slab was the Kirtisīlā of the temple of Mādhava erected by Anumati Devi who was the daughter-in-law of Harinārāyaṇa Bhairava Singha, wife of Rūpanārāyaṇa Rāmabhadra and mother of Kamsanārāyaṇa Lakshminatha during the year 394 of the Lakshmaṇa Sen era when her son was the ruler of Mithila. These names are famous in the history of Mithila in the 15th Century and the reign of Bhairava Singha, who assumed the Virud of Harinārāyaṇa, was without any doubt the golden age of Mithila. In his court were gathered such renowned scholars as Vidyāpati, Vāchaspati, Vardhamāna, Ruchipati, Misarū and a host of other writers whose works have immortalised not only their own names but the names of their patrons also. The colophons of Vāchaspati's Śrāddhakalpa and Varndhamānas Gangākṛtyaviveka give us the names of Harinārāyaṇa and his son Rūpanārāyaṇa Rāmabhadra. One Āndhra Scholar Rāmabhaṭṭa, the author of Vidvatprabodhini a Commentary on Sārasvata system of Grammar, has immortalised the fame of the Brāhmaṇa king Rūpanārāyaṇa to whom he paid a visit from Gaya. The Manṭrapradīpa of Harapati called Āgamāchārya has eulogised Kamsanārāyaṇa Lakshmināth. As regards the date, Hṛdayanārāyaṇa Dhīra Singha, the elder brother of Bhairava, was ruling Mithila in L. Sam 321 as recorded in the post-colo-

phon remark in the Ms. of Setudarpanī. In L. Sam. 392, only two years before the construction of this temple, a copy of Devīmāhātmya was transcribed by Udayakara which is still preserved in the Nepal Durbar Library. Udayakara mentions himself अति-प्रणतेन as in the final prose passage in this inscription and describes himself as having been deputed to it by Kamsanārāyaṇa..

Doubts have been expressed about my interpretation of रन्ध्र in the compound वेद-रन्ध्र-हरनेत्र-चिह्निते in the third verse and some people take it to suggest zero. रन्ध्र, no doubt, means "Void" and can, therefore, be used for zero but in most of the dates known to me, which can thus be deduced, रन्ध्र stands for nine as there are nine रन्ध्र's in the human body, I have not come across any date where रन्ध्र stands for zero. Vidyāpati has mentioned the year of the death of Deva Singh in his Abahatṭa verse as अनल-रन्ध्र-कर लखन नरवए, सक समुद्भूकरअगिनससी Here the year 293 of the Lakshmaṇa Sen Era has been stated as equivalent to the Śaka year 1324. In the date of this inscription also, if रन्ध्र is taken to mean zero, it would go ninety years back to the L. Sam. 304 which is much earlier than the reign of Dhīra Singh whom the father-in-law of Anumati Devi succeeded on the throne of Mithila. In view, therefore, of the fact that in L. Sam. 392 Kamsanārāyaṇa is described in the manuscript of the Devīmāhātmya to have been reigning, there should be no doubt about the interpretation of the words of this inscription to mean L. Sam 394 with रन्ध्र standing for nine, not for zero.

Coming back to the inscription itself, one cannot fail to be impressed with the style of the panegyric recorded therein. We now from different sources that Bhairava Singha was indeed a refuge to the kings and Varddhamāna in the Introductory verse of his Daṇḍaviveka states that Bhairava Singha gave shelter to Hussain Sah (of Jaunpur) when he was bereft of his entire army, probably when he was fleeing to Bengal, and considered Kedar Roy (of Bengal) as subservient to himself

“as a wife”. We have the testimony of the Āndhra Scholar about the reputation of Rāmabhadra Rūpanārāyaṇa. Knowing the history of these turbulent times when the Pathan Empire was disintegrating and local Mohammadon chiefs were pouncing upon the holy land of Mithilas from both the east and the west, the description of Kamsanārāyaṇa Lakshmināth as the “terror in Tirhut to the king of the Yavanas” seems quite appropriate and it was in one of those fights that this “terror” himself was laid low on the field of battle and with him the glory of the Oinabars came to an end. It is not known definitely when Kamsanārāyaṇa was defeated and by whom, but most probably it was about the year 1525 that he succumbed to the onslaught of Nasrat Shah of Bengal and this temple too must have been demolished in any one of these many Mohammadon invasions some time within 30 years of its erection in the L. Sam. year 394 corresponding to 1503 A. D.

About the Mahādevī, who got this temple erected, the Pañjī records of the Maithil Brāhmaṇas are very elucidative. King Rāmabhadra had four wives of whom the first was Anumati, the daughter of Shiva Jha of Pālī family resident of Mahisī now in the district of Saharsa. The mother of Anumati belonged to the Māṇḍara family resident of the village of Jarahatiā, a village about a mile west of the spot where the ruins of the temple have been unearthed. Shiva Jha of Mahisī was one of the most respectable among Maithil Brāhmaṇas of his own times and it will greatly interest the scholars to know that the late chairman of the Bihar Public Service Commission, Dr. Amaranath Jha was eleventh in the direct line of descent from Shiva Jha. Rūpanārāyaṇa Rāmabhadra had another son, Bhavanātha, from a second wife. He also assumed the role of royalty and called himself Hridayanārāyaṇa. Rāmabhadra had a brother Puruṣottama, called Garuḍanārāyaṇa, and he also assumed kingship. It will thus appear that by the end of the 15th century, the Raj of Mithila was not unitedly under one king but the different members of the Oinabara royal family were laying claim to royalty without any regard for solidarity

which was the imperative need of the hour. In the light of the analysis given above, the words of the inscription that Mahādevī Anumati, "through her modesty and her prudence brought her relatives under her control" sound quite appropriate and it is just possible that under the pressure of the repeated attacks from the Mohamadon chiefs from all sides, she succeeded both by her विनय and नय in bringing about a sort of unity among all the members of the Oinabara royal family. It was however too late. The rivalry and antagonism among the different members of the family and among the different branches of the same family proved fatal to the solidarity which was so necessary to withstand the attacks of the common foe. But from this inscription it is not unreasonable to suppose that a successful attempt was made, though very late, to patch up these personal differences and the credit for the achievement of this was due to the tactfulness and modesty displayed by Mahādevī Anumati, the queen mother when her eldest son, Kamsanārāyaṇa, was ruling Mithila.

About the poet who composed these panegyrics, nothing is known definitely. Mādhava is such a common name that unless more details are given it is impossible to fix up his identity. I have come across only one Mādhava who can be identified with the writer of these verses with any plausibility and he is called "Madhura Kavi" in the Pañjis. He belonged to the same family as Shiva Jha, the father of Mahādevī Anumati, but Madhava was tenth in descent from the common ancestor from whom Shiva Jha was only the seventh. Shiva, however, belonged to a senior branch while Mādhava to a junior one and is not quite absurd to suppose that Mādhava was a young poet patronised by Mahādevī Anumati when he was deputed to compose these verses for the inscription.

The last verse is obscure because the first four letters of the 1st line and the first three letters of the second line cannot be read. There seems, however, to be some panegyric of Mahādevī Anumati composed or more properly, to be composed, by Kuladhara Kavi. Nothing is known about Kuladhara nor any

panegyric available extolling the virtues of this wise queen but this much can safely be inferred from this last verse of the Inscription that during the last days of Oinabara rule of Mithila Mahādevi Anumati did all she could to avert the danger of disintegration of the Raj of Tirhut and thus save it from falling a prey to the Mohehammadon invaders. That she could not succeed does not take away from the credit that is her due and if the panegyrics of Kuladhara Kavi could be available then only the part she played during these critical days would be properly assessed.

The inscription ends with a description of the artisan who did all the stone work of this temple and though his name is effaced we can still read गया पुत्रेण as his appellation. It is clear, therefore, that he was a man of Gaya and we cannot but praise his skill in inscribing these verses. The most important thing about this inscription is the very artistic writing of the whole inscription and this can be put forth as the specimen of the style of Tirhutā writing in the beginning of the 16th century.

LAND AND LABOUR AMONG THE MUNDA OF BIHAR

By

L. P. Vidyarthi, Ranchi

To-day many speak about the tribes of primitive and backward people, many are planning for the tribes and many are engaged in the task of tribal rehabilitation in India. In Bihar, as well, much is being done to bring these millions of people on the footing of the other advanced and modern cultural groups. Besides governmental machinery, several social agencies and missionaries are making tireless efforts to eliminate the black spot of backwardness and primitivism from the cultural canvas. It is indeed a good augury for the future of tribal Bihar.

To-day there are many specific problems before the tribal societies, which are being attended to by the government and non-official organizations. Among them, the place of tribal economy looms large. The economic problems of the different tribes of Bihar, in detail, are different; and specific studies are required for each tribe before any scheme is put forward for economic rehabilitation. Here in the present paper, I like to discuss the various implications of land and labour in relation to the Munda of Bihar.

The Munda.

The Mundas happen to be the oldest tribal population of the picturesque plateau of Chotanagpur and demographically as well they are the most numerous tribe of Chotanagpur, except the Dravidian Oraon. Census report of 1901, records their population to be 3,44,373 but in the census of 1941, it rose to 5,19,743 and it is evident, though not recorded, that their population has further gone up by thousands in the last thirteen years. The great bulk of this population is mostly concentrated in the southern, south-western and eastern part of Ranchi Distt.

The Mundas exclusively depend upon agriculture for their

livelihood, and our door to door census of some Munda villages (Perka in the Khunti sub-division; Burhadih in Bundu P.S. etc.) brings to light that about 96% of the Munda population, are directly connected with agriculture, out of which about 20% are agricultural labourers and only about 4% of their population is engaged in other occupations.

Economic setting.

Economically, they are very depressed and barring a handful of families in each village, the bulk of population lives on the verge of starvation at least for three months. The plight of agricultural labourers is all the more pitiable. Agricultural labour can provide them livelihood for three months only; they have to seek work elsewhere as coolies, porters etc. for nine months. Migration of the Munda labourers to tea gardens of Assam, Bhutan and Darjeeling is everyday increasing by leaps and bounds. From recent times a large number of Mundas also go temporarily for seeking their bread in Andaman Islands and in the villages of Bengal. And when they return from these areas, they do not find themselves only misfit in their societies, but with them they bring in deviation, disease and death in the tribal society.

The size of holding per family is another clue for understanding the poverty of the Munda. From the census of village Perka in Khunti sub-division, we found that about 45% of the families have less than 5 acres of land and only 12% of the total families have more than 25 acres of land. The acreage per family is still less in many other Munda villages studied by us and it appears that averagely speaking the size of holding per family is not more than 3 acres. With this should be considered the factors of infertility of soil as well as the inadequacy of irrigational water, and crude method of cultivation which taken in all reduce the agricultural income per capita to be very insufficient.

The cattle wealth of the Munda also presents very gloomy picture. The cattle of this area are very poor, underfed due to

the lack of good pasture and good fodder especially for seven months. The cattle are of poor breed also. The poverty of the villagers affects the food stuff of the cattle which are compulsorily tamed by the villagers to give calves and not for the purpose of milk. As regards the number of cows, bullocks and buffaloes, they are only 1.5, 1.9, and 2 per family respectively in Perka village. But we were surprised to record only 9 cows in Burhadih where the number of bullocks came to be 244 and those of male buffaloes to be 18.

The poverty of the Munda is brought out by the extent of indebtedness. Thirty to forty per cent of the Munda families show grain debts. The average amount in Munda villages varies from 2 to 4 maunds. Cash debt is also not small. In short, it may be said that the average amount of debt comes to be equivalent to one to two months of food.

Economy Versus Education.

This short resume of the Munda economy introduces to us the vast economic problems that threaten the very healthy existence of the tribe. In spite of their least wants and poor level of aspiration, they have to struggle hard for leading even hand to mouth existence. This monster of poverty affects their all spheres of life. It especially hampers the education of the Munda children who are miserably needed by their parents for sharing in their struggle for existence. Most parents want to send them to neighbouring schools and mostly temporarily do so, but their pressing need at their homes or field compel latter to abandon the schools. In some of the villages of Khunti subdivision, I found that about 56% of the school going children have not taken their admission while the rest took their admission but only 20% of the total school going children continued their studies for some time.

How economic conditions in tribal areas affect the condition of children, can be also had if we compare the figures of students in various kinds of schools of Ranchi District in the year 1951-52 with these of 1952-53. In this, one year under

consideration, the strength of pupils in primary schools came down by 6481, in Middle schools by 1759 and in High Schools by 2088. This alarming decrease in the strength of students in various grades may be due to some other reasons, but the main reason is suggested to be change in session of schools from January to July. In January after the harvesting season, the economic condition of the tribal villagers is very much improved and they can think of sparing their children for admission in Schools. But July is the period of scarcity as well as the period of heavy agricultural engagements. During this period the tribal peasant and landless labourers don't find themselves at all economically comfortable to spare their hungry and naked children for school, when they are badly needed in the field to ensure rich harvest.

To be precise, the above economic factors and their integral relation with education lead us to infer that economic uplift should go hand in hand with educational rehabilitation. But in Bihar, we find more emphasis on literacy than economic problems. From the annual reports of the Adim Jati Seva Mandal it becomes evident that practically no amount is spent for economic amelioration of the tribal people. But the finding of the anthropologists show that, in general, economic rehabilitation should be more emphasised than education. In this connection Mr. Madan has aptly opined that "Literacy will have to be given a lower priority in an all India tribal rehabilitation scheme than socio-economic uplift, medicinal and hygienic facilities and improved transportation and communication." This may be considered to be over simplification in case of the Munda for, economically they are not so depressed but at the same time there is no gainsaying the fact that both the economic problems and question of education should be considered, and executed with equal seriousness and sincerity. But without entering into detail, little has been done except the establishment of a number of grain-golas and construction of a few tanks in the name of economic rehabilitation of the tribal Bihar. In the following paragraphs I like to suggest those problems one by one that need consideration for the

scientific planning of economic rehabilitation of the Munda.

Land and Agriculture.

From the agricultural points of view, the whole of the Munda area is undulating and can be divided into two major categories—the upland and the lowland. The upland in the local dialect is known as *Tānr* or *danr* and the lowland is known as '*Dons*'. Both the Tanr as well as the Don have been further divided into three types on the basis of their respective elevation, and fertility.

The elevation of the Tanr varies from 0' to 25 ft. and can be classified into Tanr I (0'—10'), Tanr II (10'—15') and Tanr III (15'—25'). Tanr I, locally known as *Dihari Tanr* is the nearest of the village and is regarded as the part of the village site itself. Soil of such land consists of equal proportion of sand and clay and is used as "bari" for the raising of onion, garlic, potatoes, biras (Paddy seedling) on a small scale. In Tanr I, a coarse type of paddy known as Gora is also extensively cultivated. On Tanr II, that contains gravelly soil, maize and pulses are cultivated. The produce per acre varies from 6 mds. to 4 mds. Tanr III also contains Rugari or gravelly soil of very inferior quality. This type of land is utterly infertile and in some suitable places only hard corns like mustard seeds, *til* and *Surguja* are raised but the yield never exceeds 4 to 5 mds. per acre.

The second type of the land, *Don* is lower than the Tanr in elevation, the depth varying from 0' to 22' from the level area. Soils of the Don land are very suitable for raising rich rice harvest. Don lands, have been also divided into three viz. The *garha loyāng* or the lowest Don land (ii) The *Sokrā* land or terraces of middle elevation and (iii) the *Badi* or *Chowra* Don land, situated further up and immediately below the *Taria Tanr*.

The lowest Don lands, that are from 16 ft. to 22 ft. below the general surface show good deposits of black sticky soil known as Nāgrā soil which is the best suited for rice cultivation. This

kind of land can retain moisture for a very long period and yield rich produce of rice varying from 25 to 20 mds. per acre. The Sokrā at the Dons of middle elevation (10' to 15' below the area) is characterised by a soil known as Khisi, which consists of equal proportion of sand and clay. Nāgrā soil is also mixed with it. This area is also suitable for raising rice and winter crops, but the yield per acre is reduced to 15 to 18 mds. The *badi* or *Chawra*, the highest among the Don land (10' to 0') is characterised by little deposits of brown Nāgrā soil and produces winter rice crop which is usually harvested in the month of Aghan (December). The land is least fertile among the Don lands and the average yield per acre varies from 10 to 12 mds.

As regards the proportion of land, under Tanr and Dons, it varies from area to area. In Burhadih village of Bundu police station, out of 761 acres of total land, there are 433 acres of arable land of which 248 acres are Don land and 185 acres are Tanr land. The acreage under three types of Tanr and Don in the village can be also classified in a tabular form:—

| Types of Tanr | Acreage | Types of Don | Acreage |
|---------------|----------|-----------------|----------|
| Tanr I | 65 acres | Garha or Don I | 56 acres |
| Tanr II | 45 | Sokra or Don II | 87 |
| Tanr III | 75 | Don II | 105 |

Besides these arable lands, a large plot, covering an area of 233 acres are barren uplands, some portions of it are under natural vegetation. The rest are left as barren or wasteland. In other Munda areas, the pattern of land utilization presents a similar picture; the difference being only in the proportion of acreage under these types of land.

Now, from the brief survey of the agricultural land forms and their utilization, it becomes clear that a large acreage of the Munda country is lying barren and ways and means should be adopted to reclaim them. It also becomes obvious that the yield of crop per acre, especially in Don III and Tanr lands is very low and needs prompt attention for its increase. These two problems of wasteland and low acreage are closely connected with the nature of soil as well as irrigational problems and it is

worth while to consider these two problems in some details.

Soil and Agriculture.

The study of soil of the area clearly reveals that barring the Dons, the whole of land is mainly covered with sandy and gravelly soil. Besides the inferior quality of soil that covers the land, the area is further affected by soil erosion. Both the types of Sheet and Gully erosions are conspicuous in the Munda country. As the cultivated Tanr lands are not properly terraced with embankment, the running water removes the valuable top soil. The slopes of the field are also being eroded by the headward erosion of deep gullies and everyday ravines and bad land are increasing in the Munda area.

Soil erosion is every day increasing in this area : some of the reasons of which are known but little attempts are being made to put a check upon them. As the Tanr and ridges are devoid of natural vegetation, sheet and gully erosions take place in such areas. This has got further philip because of the clearance of forests and cutting of trees for domestic purposes. Deterioration of pasture because of overgrazing has further added to the pace of soil erosion. The removal of soil from the Tanr upland is further facilitated by the ploughing of the land along the slopes. The ignorant tribals are not fully familiar with the implication of the soil erosion and they feel no hesitation in ploughing the land along the slopes rather than across them.

The soil erosion has been very adversely affecting the agricultural economy of the Munda. With the removal of top-soil, the fertility of the land has been very much reduced. The soil-covering on the sloping fields has become thinner and thinner every day as a result of which the yield per acre has been reduced. The gully erosion even transforms the rich fertile land into waste land. In order to preserve the peasants' property an earnest attempt should be made for the conservation of soil. Restoration of the protective and binding vegetative cover and the controlled farming are the two main ways that should be applied for the conservation of soil in the Munda area.

There are some bushes and trees that can protect soil from erosion. *Pulush* and *Sindnar* are such bushes that can be planted to check the soil erosion in Munda area. Further more trees like *Palas*, *bari*, *Kusum* can be also planted on the Tanr land with a view to check not only soil erosion but to rear lac insects for providing raw materials to lac cottage industries. The Munda area has its importance in commercial sphere for the production of lac. There are numerous factories of lac industry in Bundu, three at Khunti, two at Murhu, and one at Tapkara. Besides these, the Munda area provides also raw material to the lac factories at Jhalda located in Manbhum. Besides these trees, Sawai grass, can be also planted on a large scale in such areas. Even to-day, Sawai grass is found in the Munda area here and there. Attempt can be made to tame them in such areas where soil erosion is rampant and where cultivation of crops does not appear possible. The sawai grass will be a valuable asset for developing paper industry, thereby it will create an additional scope for jobs for many. Besides these, several fruit trees can be planted on such wasteland for profitable purposes. If this is implemented a vast tract of Tanr land can be reclaimed as forests and gardens which will provide raw materials for the development of cottage industries of lac, tussar, paper etc. This will ease the problem of landless labourers and can provide supplementary jobs to the petty farmers.

Secondly, control of cultivation is most essential in the soil conservation. It should be controlled at critical points : (1) Where denudation starts from the ridge down the slope. (2) Where the gully is formed and multiplied. Attention should be paid to the contour ploughing. Furrows in such field should never be parallel to the slope. They should be devoted to the cultivation of certain crops like Mug, Urid, Kurthi, Bodi etc.

Agriculture and Irrigation.

It is needless to stress the need of irrigational water supply especially in the Tarn and Don III of the Munda areas. The lower Don fields do not require additional water for the culti-

vation of rice if the monsoon rain is favourable. But in the case of the failure of the monsoon the provision of irrigational water becomes very imperative even for these lowlands. Moreover, if irrigational facilities are provided, not only yield of cultivated land will go up but also a large tract of cultivable waste can be reclaimed.

Now, question arises what are the resources that should be tapped for making provision for agricultural water supply. Of course there are a large number of rivers and rivulets in this area but they cannot be used for irrigational purposes because the construction of canal is very much expensive in view of the hilly and undulated topography of this area. Moreover, the rivers have attained their old stage, their beds are flat and they are not in a position to store and supply water when it is needed.

Tank and well-irrigation have great prospect in the Munda area. It is remarkable to note that water table in this area passes just below the Don land. Natural wells locally known as *Dari* or *Chuan*—are available here and there on the low lands. Water of such well is specially used for drinking purposes. Artificial wells can be had only by digging 5 to 10 feet in depth. Hence the problem of irrigating the lowland is not at all acute. But it is very hard task for the resourceless ignorant Mundas to manage to irrigate the uplands. The state (Govt. of Bihar) have dug a large number of tanks on such Tanr land. But these tanks become dry just after the rainy season and practically they are useless for the villagers. This project of minor irrigation in Munda area has ultimately failed and it has failed because the plans of such tanks could not take the local hydraulic condition into consideration.

It is worthwhile to make arrangement for the storage of water on the plain area itself. Some rivers can be dammed. Some reservoirs can be made in the vicinity of natural wells, and tanks etc. can be dug in relation to the water table. Water from these tanks and reservoirs can be made accessible to the tanr land with the help of pumps. Of course, it is a bit expensive to purchase pumping machines, but the government must make

them available to the people by way of loan etc. to enable them to reclaim such lands. Besides this, tube wells can also be tried in this area.

It is gratifying to note that the Seventh Day Adventist Mission (American) has actually converted about 100 acres of Tanr land into fertile field by applying this system of irrigation. At one mile from Khunti on the Simdega Road, we find a very large enclosure of tanr land under cultivation for raising not only oil seeds, vegetables, fruits, but also rice. The yield of this Tanr land has not only gone up, but double crops are raised. The secret of its increased fertility is not to be sought in the use of tractors or the application of manuring but mainly in the supply of agricultural water with the help of pumps from the river flowing on the low land. It is actually an eye opener and challenge to those interested in the economic rehabilitation of the tribes.

Cattle and Agriculture

We have made an appraisal of the cattle wealth earlier and it appears relevant here to comment that with weak and inadequate cattle wealth, the agricultural economy of the people can not flourish. It is worthwhile to arrange for pasture for the "starving, dumb friends." Proper arrangements should be made to improve the breed of the cattle. The cattle of this area mostly suffer from mouth and leg diseases. Adequate facilities should be granted by establishing veterinary hospitals as well as breeding stations. The villagers should be enlightened on these points and breeding of cattle should be made easily available, and acceptable to them.

There are various other problems connecting the land and the agriculture of the Mundas. But they are of general types, lighter problems of manure and seed, method of cultivation and fragmentation of lands etc. These should also not escape the notice of the administrators in view of the ignorance of the tribal peoples, who are suspicious about the adoption of new things.

To conclude, poverty, misery, wants, indebtedness have become priceless property of the Mundas. A large bulk of the

population live on the verge of starvation at least for a quarter of a year but inspite of such a depressing economic condition more stress is being given on tribal education than on its economic conditions. This attitude and approach need revision. It would be apparent from what has been said above that:

1. In the rehabilitational scheme of the Munda both their question of education and economic rehabilitation should be considered on equal footing and importance of literacy need not be over emphasised at the cost of economic welfare, as both are closely interconnected.

2. Attempts should be made for a comprehensive land utilization of the Munda country and ways and means should be devised for reclaiming the cultivable waste lands and increasing the fertility of the Tanr lands.

3. Bushes like *putush*, *sinduar*, grasses like *sabai*, trees like *Palas*, *Bair*, *Kusum* should be planted with a view to check-devastating soil erosion as well as to provide raw materials for such cottage industries that depend on forest products for raw materials. This will ease the problem of landless labourers and may provide supplementary jobs for the petty farmers.

4. Efforts should be made to check sheet erosion and gully erosion by propagating controlled farming and sowing of certain crops like *mug*, *urad*, *kurthi*, and *bodi* etc.

5. Tanks and wells should be constructed ensuring the supply of agricultural water to the Don land at the time of failure of the monsoon.

6. The natural well known as 'Dari' should be further exploited for irrigational purposes.

7. Pumping system should be adopted and popularised for irrigating the Tanr land. Government should make adequate arrangement for making agricultural water supply available to the poor tribal population for irrigating the suitable Tanr area for cultivation.

8. The cattle wealth of the Munda area should be improved by ensuring rich pastures, establishing veterinary hospitals and making available breeding stations easily to the tribal peoples.

9. Adequate facilities should be granted to these tribes for using scientific manures and seeds.

10. A team of trained workers should be entrusted with the work of economic rehabilitation of the Mundas under a Special Officer.

RĀJAPUTĀNĀ THROUGH THE AGES* (ŚAKA-KUṢĀṆA AND GUPTA PERIODS.)

By

R. C. Agrawala,

I. Pre-Gupta Period.

The history of Rājaputānā, during the Parthian and the Scythian periods, is not well known to the scholarly world. Dr. H. Goetz (*Art and Architecture of the Bikaner State*, Oxford, 1950, p. 27) states that "during the successive Graceo-Bactrian, Parthian and Scythian invasions, the *Mallois* were forced into the Thar desert, south of the Yaudheyas. The Mohila settlements round Sujānagarh¹ are probably the last remnants of the *Mālvas* in Bikaner and Jaipur territory, before they proceeded to the south-east and finally settled in Mālwa. The advance of the *Mālvas* however pressed the *Yaudheyas* and their neighbours—the *Arjunāyanas* towards north."²

Regime of the Kuṣāṇas and the Kṣatrapas:

The Kuṣāṇas who had conquered the whole of the Pañjāb in the beginning of the first century A.D., extended their sway up to Mathurā and the region round about it. It was rather

*Abbreviations used :—

- (1) *Rairh* : K. N. Puri, *Excavations at Rairh*.
- (2) *Sambhar*, : D. R. Sahni, *Archaeological Remains and Excavations at Sambhar*.
- (3) *Bairat* : D. R. Sahni, *Archaeological Remains and Excavations at Bairat*.
- (4) *CCAI* : J. Allan, *Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India*. 1936. London.
- (5) *NHIP* : R. C. Majumdar and A. S. Altekar, *A New History of the Indian People*, IV, 1946, Lahore (*Gupta Vākātaka Age*).
- (6) *AIN* : S. K. Chakravorty, *A Study of Ancient Indian Numismatics*, 1931, Calcutta.
- (7) *CCIM* : V. A. Smith, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum Calcutta*, I, 1906, Oxford.
- (8) *AIU* : *The Age of Imperial Unity*, 1951, Bombay.
- (9) *ASR* : *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*.

1. Bikaner region.

2. Cf. Allan, *CCAI*, p. CLII of introduction; P.L. Gupta, *Journal of the U. P. Historical Society*, Lucknow, XXIII, p. 172; Sircar in *AIU*, p. 163.

not possible for the Yaudheyas,³ Arjunāyanas⁴ and the Mālavas to bear the burnt of these mighty inroads. Eventually they had to remain silent for sometime, especially during the reign-periods of the first three Kuṣāṇa rulers i.e., up to the close of the first or the beginning of the second century A. D.

(i) One of the Nasik Cave Inscriptions informs us that Uṣavadāta (i.e. Rīṣabhadatta) is said to have marched as far as the land of the Uttamabhadras who were living in the region of Ajmer towards the beginning of the second century A. D. These Uttamabhadras were residing very close to the mighty Mālavas (i.e. Mālavas) and were being harassed by the latter. Rīṣabhadatta—the leader of the Western Kṣatrapas—took the side of the Uttamabhadras and inflicted a crushing defeat on the Mālavas. Besides this, he is said to have visited the Puṣkara-Tīrtha (about 6-7 miles from Ajmer) for some ceremonial consecration.⁵ The Nāsik inscription, under review, states that Rīṣabhadatta had launched this campaign at the instance of *Bhaṭṭāraka*:—*bhaṭṭārakā añāṭiyā ca gatosmim varṣ āratum Mālayehi hi rudhaṃ Uttamabhadraṃ mocayitum. Te Mālayā pranādeneva āpayātā Utamabharakāṇaṃ ca kṣatriyāṇi sarve parigrahā kritā. Tatosamiṃ gato Pokṣarāni tatra ca mayā abhiseko kṛito...*etc. It is not possible to determine whether the word *bhaṭṭāraka* (=lord) indicated the Western-Kṣatrapa chief Nahapāna or some Kuṣāṇa ruler. But Dr. D. C. Sircar (*AIU*, p. 180-1) holds the opinion that “the Ajmer region in Rājputānā lay within the sphere of Nahapāna’s influence”.⁶ It is interesting to note that Naha-

3. Dr. Sircar, in his chapter published in *AIU*, p. 166, suggests that the Yaudheyas appear to have submitted to the Śakas and the Kuṣāṇas; cf. also H. Goetz, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

4. They had already been subdued by the Śakas about the end of the first century B. C. (*AIU*, pp. 162-3). It was after the decline of the Kuṣāṇas that they regained their independent status (cf. *AIU*, pp. 162-3).

5. *Epigraphia Indica*, VIII, pp. 78 ff., no. 10; *Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle*, IV, pp. 99, no. 5; G. H. Ojha, *History of Rājaputānā*, Hindi, I, 1927, p. 62; D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, I, 1942, Calcutta, pp. 162-3; cf. also *AIU*, pp. 181 and 164; *Journals of the Numismatic Society of India*, VII, p. 28.

6. Dr. A. S. Altekar *Journals of the Numismatic Society of India*, VII, p. 28. too holds this opinion and states that “the scene of war was therefore in Central Rājaputānā. The place of the siege of the Uttamabhadras should have been somewhere in the North-Eastern Rājaputānā, since on concluding the successful campaign, Uṣavadāta visited the Puṣkara-Tīrtha near Ajmer.”

pāna's⁷ coins have actually been found in the Ajmer region. It is also very likely that these coins might have reached the place through the travellers and the pilgrims visiting the Puskara-Tirtha.

(ii) The mighty Yaudheyas very soon appear to have challenged the authority of the foreigners towards the middle of the second century A.D. Now they came in clash with the Śaka chief Rudradāmana designated as *Mahākṣatrapa* in the well known Jūnāgarh Inscription. This epigraph, of 150 A.D., refers to the Yaudheyas as "untamable owing to their pride, resulting from the ascription of the little hero to them amongst the *Kṣatriyas*"⁸ — *vīra-śabda-jātoisekāvīdheyānām Yaudheyānām prasahyoisāda-kena*.⁹ This could have been possible only as a result of the fading prestige of the Kuṣāṇas. Allan (*CCAI*, p. CLII, introduction) thinks that the lands of the Yaudheyas "extended into western Rājaputānā in the second century A. D."

(iii) The aforesaid inscription from Jūnāgarh also states that the "desert area of Rājaputānā" (i.e. *Maru*) was included in the list of the conquests of Rudradāmana (Cf. *Surāṣṭra-Śvabhṛa-Maru- Kaccha-Sindhu-Sauvīra*...etc., here; *Select Inscriptions*, op. cit., p. 172, line 11 of the epigraph). This led B.N. Reu (*Coins of Mārṇār*, 1946, Jodhpur, p. 1, f. n. 3) to remark that *Mārṇār* formed a part of the conquests of *Mahākṣatrapa* Rudradāman. But it is regretted that not a single *kṣatrapa*-coin has so far been recovered from *Mārṇār*.¹⁰ Should it mean that Rudradāman had got included *Maru* in his dominion simply as a vain boast? Future discoveries are badly awaited to solve this mystery.

7. "Riṣabhadatta was the son-in-law and Viceroy of Nahapāna in their struggle against the Mālavās." (D. C. Sircar, *AIU*, p. 160 f. n. 1); Cf. *Select Inscriptions*, p. 162, f. n. 6 referring to the provenance of the coins of Bhūmaṇa, Nahapāna and also of the rulers of the house of Caṣṭana-etc., in the region of Ajmer and Puṣkara.

8. *AIU*, pp. 166 and 185.

9. D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, I, 1942, Calcutta, p. 172; Cf. P. L. Gupta's comments in the *J. U. P. Hist. Soc.*, Lucknow, XXIII, p. 172.

10. i.e., the existing division of Jodhpur which includes the states of Jodhpur, Jaisalamera and Sirohi. Cf. also *AIU*, p. 184. The region of Bikaner too has not yielded any *kṣatrapa* coin.

Kuṣāṇa Coins from Rājaputānā.

(i) The Archaeological excavations at Sambhar brought to light a circular copper coin of Huvīṣka (*Sambhar*, pp. 28, 48; plate XV. f) and it may be compared with plate XIII. 3 of Smith's *CCIM*. The Sambhar coin bears the following devices i.e. a king riding on the elephant on the obverse and the Sun-god on the reverse.

(ii) A round copper coin of Huvīṣka was acquired from Pisanagana (20 miles west of Ajmer) and is now preserved in the Rājaputānā Museum at Ajmer.¹¹ This coin depicts the king riding on an elephant on the obverse; whereas the reverse side presents two-armed Śiva standing to left with a trident in his right hand and gourd in the left.

(iii) It was about 15 years ago that Sir A. Stein picked up some copper pieces (as surface finds) of Kadphises¹² from the mounds round about Sūratgarh, Hanumāngarh etc. Very recently the Swedish Archaeological Delegation is also reported to have excavated some Kuṣāṇa coins at the ancient site of Raṅgamahal situated about 3 miles from Sūratgarh (Bikaner Division).

Raṅgamahal-Culture.

This region of Bikaner division has been proved very important because of the discovery of the *Raṅgamahal-Culture*. Mr. A. Ghosh explored quite a large number of Kuṣāṇa sites in this locality;¹³ some of these mounds rising as much as 35 or 40 feet in height. In the words of A. Ghosh, "the Raṅgamahal pottery industry was very sturdy and productive. The shapes represented are many and the painted designs in black (or,

11. *Annual Report on the working of the Rājputānā Museum of Ajmer, Report ending March 1940*, published in 1942, pp. 5 and 16.

12. Stein's unpublished memoir, '*An Archaeological Tour along the Dry Bed of the River Saraswati*', which is now in the possession of the Department of Archaeology in India.

13. Consult A. Ghosh's paper 'The Rājputānā Desert—its Archaeological Aspects' as published in the *Bulletin of the National Institute of Sciences of India*, I, 1952, pp. 37-42 and map on p. 30. Raṅgamahal is about 3 miles from Sūratgarh.

rarely, in crimson) on a bright red background consist of innumerable varieties, both naturalistic and geometrical. The slip, designs and fabric of the Raṅgamahal pottery are readily distinguishable from the Harappā, but from the existence of a few types common to both, *it appears that the Raṅgamahal pottery, by a process of atavism, which is not yet explained, inherited or imitated a few Harappan traits.* On the other hand, some of its features, persist in the present-day pottery of the Sūratgarh—Anūpgarh region. A few of these sites have mud-fortifications around them. Brick-bats are plentiful on most of the sites; indicating the existence of the brick-houses. Other finds from the sites include terracotta-human and animal figurines, including painted bulls, faience, shell-bangles, a large number of beads of different shapes...etc. *That the culture flourished in the early centuries A.D., there is little doubt.* This is borne out not only by one or two similar pottery-types found in equivalent levels at Ahicchatra, Hastināpura, Kauśāmbī and other excavated sites, but by the discovery of one or two Kuṣāṇa coins on the Bikaner sites themselves. In the Driṣadvatī valley the Raṅgamahal culture persists, but, like the Harappā one, in a somewhat modified form (Ghosh, *op. cit.*, p. 41). Dr. H. D. Sankalia (*ibid.*, p. 48) seems to be justified in remarking that “desiccation, natural or artificial, had then (1500-2000 B.C. or still earlier), probably set in, which reaching its maximum about the beginning of the Christian era, made the lower reaches of Hākrā-Ghaggar completely uninhabitable. It is not unlikely that witnessing the increasing aridity, the population trend from about the 3rd. century B.C. or a little before, was towards the habitation of the more fertile Eastern Zone. In fact, there is definite evidence to show the migration of tribes and peoples from Southern Panjab to Eastern Rājaputānā, and thence to Madhya Bhārat.”

Red-Polished Ware.

It is regretted that no Kuṣāṇa coin has so far been discovered from any part of Mārwar. Future excavations may enable us to say something about this mystery. It was in the

year 1954 that I conducted archaeological trial excavations at Bhīnmāl¹⁴ (ancient Śrīmāla) where I excavated a few sherds of the typical *Red Polished ware*¹⁵ but not a single coin pertaining to the early centuries of the Christian era.

It is simply interesting to note that a copper coin (W.W. Webb, *The Currencies of the Hindu States of Rājputānā*, Westminster 1893, Plate I. 7, p. 13) from Udaipur State presents very interesting points. The obverse depicts the debased form of a king standing while, on the reverse we find a person standing in front of a horse in a similar manner as the *triśūladhārī* Śiva usually figures (in front of the bull) on the coins of Vāsudeva—the well known Kuṣāṇa ruler. It is very likely that the old Kuṣāṇa device was copied at a later period but with some variations (i.e., bull substituted by the horse). Mr. Webb (op. cit. p. 13) likes to include the above coin (no. 7, plate 1 of Webb) in the list of the *Dhīṅgalā Paisā* currency which according to him, was a 'descendant of the old Sassanian type'.

(v) It was at Rairh that Dr. K. N. Puri discovered "a narrow necked vase made of light pink clay of fine consistence bearing highly polished slip". In the words of Dr. Puri (Rairh, p. 21, plate XI. 11) "this is undoubtedly a foreign importation and can definitely be assigned to a Buddhist pottery; having been found in upper levels at Mohenjodaro dated about the beginning of the 3rd century A.D., at Bairāt (Rājasthāna) and Rājagriha (in Behar). I am inclined to assign this fine vase to the second-third century A.D."

The ancient site of Rairh also yielded 4 interesting pots containing different hoards of punch-marked silver coins. These "flarerimmed vessels with medium-sized necks have flat round bases and taper from bottom upwards" (Rairh, pp. 22-3, plate VIII. 6, 8 and 9). They throw sufficient light on the ceramic

14. About 120 miles from Jodhpur.

15. This type of pottery has been assigned to the period ranging between the first and the third century A. D. For the wide distribution and analysis of this ware, consult B. Subbarao, *Baroda Through the Ages*, 1953, Baroda, pp. 56-64. The extension of the Red Polished ware in Mārwar is to be noted with great interest here.

industry of Rājasthān towards the end of the first century B.C. and the beginning of the first century A.D.

Kṣatrapa Coins from Rājputānā.

(i) Some stray coins of the earlier group of the Kṣatrapas (such as Nahapāna and Bhūmaka), Caṣṭana and Rudradāman I are said to have been found at Puṣkara near Ajmer.¹⁶

(ii) A. C. L. Carlleyle (*CASR*, VI, pp. 200-1)¹⁷ procured 2 coins;—one of Atri Dama (=Bharṭṛidāman) and another of Asa Dama (—Yaśodāman), at Nagari (ancient Madhyamikā, near Chittaur).¹⁸

(iii) Besides the above finds, the most noteworthy discovery in this field was that of the well known *Śarvānīā Hoard of the Kṣatrapa-coins*. It was in the year 1911 A.D. that this rich hoard of 2393 such coins was brought to notice on this place as situated in the Bānswārā State of Rājaputānā. These coins have been discussed, in detail by D. R. Bhandarkar¹⁹ in the *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report, 1913-14*, pt. II, pp. 227-45 and illustrated there on plate lxvii. The earliest Kṣatrapa prince to be represented in the above hoard was Rudrasimha I while Rudrasena III was the last to be included. Following are the names of the Kṣatrapa rulers whose coins have been found in the *Śarvānīā-hoard*:—Rudrasimha I, Rudrasena I, Saṅghadāman, Dāmasena, Dāmajadaśrī II, Viradāman, Yaśodāman, Vijayasena, Dāmajadaśrī III, Rudrasena II, Viśvasimha, Bharṭṛidāman, Viśvasena, Rudrasimha II, Yaśodāman II, Rudrasena III. Iśvaradatta's coins were also found in the same hoard.

(iv) No Kṣatrapa coin has so far been noticed as having been recovered from the Jodhpur and the Bikaner divisions.

16. *Arch. Surv. of India, Annual Report, 1913-14*, pt. II, p. 228; Cf. *AIU*, p. 160, f. n. 1. *Select Inscriptions*, p. 162. f.n. 2.

17. Cf. *Arch. Sur. of India, Annual Report, 1913-14*, pt. II, p. 228; *Memoirs of Arch. Survey*, No. 4, 1920, Calcutta, p. 122.

18. G. H. Ojha (*Hist. of Rājputānā*, Hindi, I, 1927, p. 327) reports that the heaven procured some Kṣatrapa coins in the markets at Chittaur (Udaipur region).

19. Cf. also G. H. Ojha, *Annual Report of the working of the Rājputānā Museum at Ajmer, for the year 1912-13*.

The *Gaṇapāṭha* of Pāṇini (V. 3. 116) and the *Kāśikā* (VIII. 1. 5. refer to Sarvaseni or Sarvasena; also called as *Sārvaseni* in the *Kāśikā* (VI. 2. 33). It appears from the following account of *Kāśikā* that Sarvaseni was a very dry country and there used to be no rain-fall in that region²⁰ i.e.,... *pari Sārvaseni vṛṣṭodevaḥ... aṇa Sārvaseni vṛṣṭo devaḥ... pari pari Sarvasenebhyaḥ vṛṣṭo devaḥ*. Dr. V. S. Agrawala (*ibid*) suggests to identify the N. Western part of Bikaner with the *Sārvaseni* country as cited above. The *Sārvasenis* may also be taken as identical with the *Sālvasenis* of the *Māhābhārata* (*Bhīṣma Parva*, X, 59 as cited by Dr. V.S. Agrawala).

Textile Pieces of the Kuṣāṇa Period.

(a) The well known hoard of 36 coins, from Bairat, contained 2 coins of Hermaios with his queen Kalliope (circa 20-45 A.D.) and 4 of Hermaios alone. This led Mr. Sahni (*Bairat*, p. 22) to remark that "these coins provide authentic evidence of the Buddhist establishment on the *Bijak-ki-Pahāri* having continued to be occupied until about 50 A.D." It is also to be noted that the above hoard contained 8 punch-marked coins wrapped up separately in a cotton-cloth²¹ (Cf. *Bairat*, plate IV a, pp. 22-3 for the details of the microscopic study of the cloth as woven in the region towards the beginning of the Christian era). It is also evident that the punch-marked coins were in circulation at least up to the middle of the first century A.D.

(b) The ancient terracotta plaques from Rairh have well been described by Dr. K. N. Puri in *Rairh*, pp. 26 ff. Of these, one figure of a female has been regarded as best of the lot. In the words of Dr. Puri (*ibid*, p. 29. plate XIII a), "the hair under the pyramidal head-gear are arranged in two braids falling on the shoulders. She stands full front with her right hand bent up to the shoulder holding some indistinct object. Her left hand on the left thigh is holding the two-stringed girdle worn on the

20. V. S. Agrawala's paper in *The Rājasthāna Bhārati*, Hindi, Bikaner, July 1953, p. 7.

21. About 30 coins, out of the hoard of 535 punch-marked coins from Rairh, also bore traces of cloth "which on examination proved to have been the remnants of coarse cotton-cloth" (*Rairh*, p. 49).

nether garment the transparency of which is another proof that fine cloth was woven during the centuries preceding and following the Christian era to which period these plaques are assigned. The figure is bedecked with bangles, ear-pendants and a new type of neck-band from the centre of which hangs a circular pendant inset with a six-rayed jewel."

Terracottas and Sculptures of the Kuṣāṇa Period.

(i) A badly baked hand-made pottery-plaque (*Sambhar*, Plate VI. e), in the words of Sahni (*ibid*, p. 30), perhaps "represents a buffalo-headed male figure standing facing front with a pole or spear held down in the right outstretched hand. The fillets of the clay across the breast and round the waist are meant to represent the sacred-thread and the girdle; and embossed cross appears under the right arm. The exact character of the figure is not ascertainable. Can it be the demon Mahiṣa similar to the representation of that demon in the well known relief at Ellora illustrating the victory of Durgā over the demon? The tablet (from Sambhar) dates from the Kuṣāṇa period." Sahni (*ibid*, p. 50) even conjectures that it may possibly represent Yama who rides the buffalo.

(ii) Bust of a coarsely executed hand made figure of a woman from Sambhar (*Sambhar*, Plate VI. f.).

(iii) A unique terracotta plaque from Nagar (Jaipur region) measures about 11 inches in height and depicts the goddess Mahiṣamardini Durgā in a very charming way. The facial features, the head dress and ornaments...etc., bear close similarity with the one from Sambhar and referred to above (i.e., Cf. *Sambhar*, p. 30 and Plate VI f). The discovery of the above plaque from Nagar, belonging to the beginning of the Christian era, has to throw a good deal of light on the antiquity of Durgā-cult in the Indian art. Up to this moment the scholars have been thinking that it is only in the Gupta terracottas from Ahicchatra (U.P.) etc., that we find the goddess Durgā as having been represented for the first time. But the existing relief from Nagar (Rājasthān) goes a long way in pushing back this limit to an earlier period. It will not be too much to infer

from this that the cult of Durgā had spread to the other provinces of India from Rājputānā itself. In fact, the modern Rājputs have inherited and preserved the ancient custom and profess to be the ardent devotees of goddess Mahiṣamardini.²²

(iv) A terracotta object from Sambhar belongs to this period and depicts a 'conventional trident consisting of a pot-bellied male figure with legs inserted into the mouths of the crocodile'. (*Sambhar*, Plate VIII. a, p. 51). Another, of the same age, represents a king or the god Sun seated in a chariot (*ibid*, plate XVI. h.); while another tablet presents a lion fighting an elephant (*ibid*, plate VIII. e.). Still another tablet bearing "a horse-head or goat-headed male figure" (*ibid*, plate VII, c) has tentatively been identified with *Haygrīva* or *Agni*.

(v) An interesting terracotta standing figure from Sambhar (*Sambhar*, pp. 49-50, plate VI. b), in the words of Sahni, "appears to be one of the very early anthropomorphic representation of Śiva as evidenced by a *ḍamaru* fastened to the crown of the head with a fillet and a snake necklace. I assign this figure to the early Kuṣāṇa period."

(vi) Mr. Sahni also refers to some more early terracottas from the same site i.e., (i) a two-armed female figure wearing a curious head-dress and holding a conical bowl in the left hand (*ibid*, p. 50, plate VII. i). According to Mr. Sahni, the figure may represent an unfamiliar aspect of *devī*; (ii) a male figure (*ibid*, plate VI. d) seated in European style like the Kuṣāṇa royal statues at Mathurā.

(vii) Śrī Chaturbhuja Dass Chaturvedi (Curator of the Bharatpur Museum) has kindly informed me about the existence of some Kuṣāṇa and Gupta sculptures in his museum. These stone images have been collected from the locality of Bharatpur. It is extremely essential to bring them to light at an early date.

(viii) It is regretted that the region of Jodhpur, Sirohī and Jaisalmer has not yielded any sculpture or terracotta relief pertaining to the Maurya or the Śuṅga or the Kuṣāṇa period.

22. For details of the relief from Nagar, consult my paper in *Brahma Vidyā, Bulletin of the Adyar Library*, XIX, pts. 1-2.

Miscellaneous Antiquities of the Kuṣāṇa Age.

(i) The ancient site of Sambhar yielded a potter's mallet or dabber on which is written in purplish ink and in the *Brāhmī* characters of early Kuṣāṇa period, the name *Kaṇcukasa*. *Kaṇcuka* was probably the name of some potter to whom the dabber perhaps belonged (*Sambhar*, p. 34).

(ii) An inscribed tablet from Sambhar bears an epigraph of two lines on one of the longer sides. The palaeography may be assigned to the beginning of the Christian era and the epigraph may be read as follows:—*Dhañasa Bhagusi Sa*, corresponding to Sanskrit *Dhanyasya Bhṛigu-Śiṣyasya* (*Sambhar*, p. 36).

Third Century A.D.

The beginning of the third century A. D. saw the fall of the Kuṣāṇa power and this marks an important event in the history of Rājputānā. The Arjunāyanas,²³ the Mālvas²⁴ and the Yaudheyas²⁵ lost no time in rising to an independent status after having remained calm and quite for about 200 years.

(A) *Yaudheyas*:—The Vijayagarh Inscription,²⁶ of about the 3rd century A.D., relates that the Yaudheya republic (*Yaudheya-gaṇa*), was placed under the charge of a *Mahārāja Mahā Senāpati*. This epigraph (of 3 lines) also refers to the Yaudheya settlement as headed by the Brāhmaṇa community:—*Siddham Yaudheya-gaṇa-puraskṛitasya Mahārāja-mahāsenāpateh.....pu..... Brāhmaṇapurogam cādhiṣṭhānam sarvādikuśalam prīstvē likhatyasti* etc. D. C. Sircar (*AIU*, p. 166 thus remarked that “it is interesting to note that the head of the Yaudheya tribe, like that of the Licchavis of the earlier times, assumed an unpretentious viceregal title” (Cf. also the style of the contemporary Kārdamaka kings). This change in the administrative field is to be noted with great interest here.

(B) *Mālavas*:—The Mālavas, once living in the regions of

23. *AIU*, pp. 162-3.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 166.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 164.

26. J. Fleet, *Corpus Insc. Ind.*, III, no. 58, pp. 251-2; *AIU*, p. 166; *NHIP*, pp. 31-2. The Yaudheyas were now living in the Bharatpur region. Vijayagarh is of course situated very near Bayānā (Bharatpur).

Nagar²⁷ and Rairh, also rose to an important position during the period under reference. They also "appear to have extended their power in different directions and this is suggested by the use of the *Kṛita* era in the records of the third and the fourth centuries, as discovered in Bharatpur, Koṭah and Udaipur States" (*AIU*, p. 164).

It appears, from the *Nāndasā*²⁸ *Yūpa Inscription*,²⁹ that the Mālavas had come into clash with the Western Kṣatrapas.³⁰ Dr. A. S. Altekar (*NHIP*, p. 52) suggests that "Saṅghadāman, a Kṣatrapa Chief, may have died in battle while fighting against the Mālavas of the Ajmer-Udaipur tract who made a successful bid for independence at about this time. A Mālava Chief, Śrī ?) *Soma* by name, is known to have performed an important sacrifice at Nāndasā, in the Udaipur State, to celebrate the liberation of his country. An inscription of this ruler, dated in 226 A.D., has been recently discovered announcing *how freedom and prosperity*³¹ *had returned to the country of the Mālavas by that time and how the fame of his exploits had filled the wide space between the earth and the heaven.* The enemies of the Mālavas are not mentioned in the record but they must have obviously been none other than the Western Kṣatrapa.³² The war for

27. Also called Karkoṭanagar. In the opinion of Dr. Sircar (*AIU*, p. 164, f.n. 2), this name "probably suggests that for a time it passed to the Nāgas. In fabric, the latter-Mālava coins are some what similar to the coins of the Nāgas of Padmāvati with whom they might have been closely connected." Cf. also H. C. Ray, *Dynastic History of N. India*, II, 1936, Calcutta, p. 1164; G. H. Ojha, *Hist. of Raj.*, I, 1927, p. 402 for the Nāgas and their association with Rājputānā. Dr. Sircar (*AIU*, p. 164, f.n. 2) also states that an inscription of V. S. 1043 from Nagar has been published in *The Bhārata Kaumudi* I, pp. 271-2 and refers to the place-name as *Mālavanagar* because of its ancient association with the Mālava people.

28. It is situated about 36 miles from Bhilwārā (Udaipur State) on the B. B. & C. I. Railway and about 4 miles from Gaṅgāpur (Gwalior State).

29. *Indian Antiquary*, lviii, p. 53; *Epigraphia Indica*, XXVII (6), 1948, pp. 252 ff; *Bhandarkar's List of Brāhmī Inscriptions*, no. 1. for the text etc.

30. Cf. *AIU*, p. 164; *NHIP*, pp. 52, 370, 34-5 etc.

31. *Epigraphia Indica*, XXVII, pp. 263-4 for the text of the epigraph:—*sva-śakti-guṇaguruṇā pauruṣeṇa prathamacandra-darśanamiva Mālavagana-viśayamavātārayitvaikaśaṣṭi-rātramatisatrapa-parimita-dharma-mātram sanudhṛitya pitṛipaitā-mahindhuramāvṛitya suvipulam dyāvā-prithivīyoranta-ramanuttamena yaśasā svakarmasāmpadayaṁ vipulāṁ samupagatāmṛiddhimātmāsiddhiṁ vitatya mōyāmiva satrabhūmau sarva bhūmau sarva kāmāughadhārām-vasorddhārāmiva brāhmaṇāgnī-vaiśvānareṣu hutvā brahmendra-prajāpati-maharṣi viṣṇusthāneṣu etc., etc.*

32. Cf. *AIU*, pp. 188 369. also.

freedom of the Mālavas, which was over before 226 A.D., may have lasted for 3 or 4 years and Saṅghadāman may have lost his life in it in 223 A.D.”

In fact the Mālavas were the ardent champions of the Vedic sacrifices and the above epigraph refers to the performance of the *Eka-śaṣṭi-rātra yajña* in the *kṛita* year 282 (—225 or 226 A.D.). In spite of the fact that they were Kṣatriya by caste, they were adopting names like Jayasoma and Śrī Soma, a fact which bears testimony to their being staunch followers of the Vedic faith. Dr. Altekar further comments (*Ep. Indica*, XXVII, p. 257) that the “performance of the *Ekaśaṣṭhi-rātra-satra* does not support the theory of their being of foreign descent”.³³

The above Nāndasā inscription also refers to the existence of the religious sanctuaries in honour of the prominent deities of the Hindu pantheon. It is also stated therein that the meritorious deeds of a ruler comprised of the construction of tanks, wells and temples, performance of sacrifices, distribution of charities, truth, looking after the subjects, action in accordance with the ancient traditions of the sages etc. The performance of the *Ekaśaṣṭhirātra-Yajña* was completed after having given 100 thousand cows in charity (*ekasata-go-sahasra-dakṣiṇā*). It was as a result of this sacrifice that nature is said to have “gained its original vigour and brilliance and there ensued a period of all-round prosperity” (*AIU*, p. 369, f. n. 3). Such was the firm belief in the efficiency of the Vedic sacrifices.

Dr. A. S. Altekar (*NHIP*, p. 35) is justified in stating that “(Śrī) Soma, who liberated the Mālavas, is described as supporting the ancestral yoke of public administration. Neither he, nor his father nor grandfather, is given any royal or military title like *Mahārāja* or *Senāpati*. It is clear that the republican traditions were strong among the Mālavas; even the glorious hero who rescued their country from the foreign yoke, did not dare to arrogate to himself any royal title, not even in the record which was primarily intended to proclaim his signal achievement”.

33. The Mālava Chief, of the existing epigraph, boasts of being a descendant of the Ikṣvākū dynasty (i.e. *Ikṣvākū-prathitā-rājaraṣivamśe Mālava-vamśe*).

(C) *Maukharis of Baḍavā*:—The Maukharis of Baḍavā (Koṭā) too were very enthusiastic in sponsoring the cause of the Vedic sacrifices and erecting the *yūpas* thereby. 4 *Yūpa* Pillar inscriptions, discovered at Baḍavā, throw a good deal of light in this direction.

(i) The father of the donors in 3 of these *Yūpa*-inscriptions is named as *Mahāsenāpati* Bala.³⁴ It is of course not possible to determine his status. It is probable that *Maukhari Mahāsenāpati* Bala owed allegiance to the Mālava republic (*AIU*, p. 164). It has also been suggested that Baḍavā was perhaps founded by Bala and that it might have been the capital of this petty chief.³⁵ Bala had three sons and each of them had erected a *Yūpa* of his own. The son of Bala have been named as Balavardhana, Somadeva and Balasimpha.

The first set of the three *Yūpa* inscriptions refers to the performance of the *Trirātra* sacrifice and an award of 1000 cows in charity³⁶ in each case.

(ii) The 4th *Yūpa* inscription, from the same place, is an undated one. But it can be assigned to the third century A.D. on the basis of its palaeography. It has stated therein that the *Yūpa* was erected after the performance of the *Āptoryāma* sacrifice by Dhanutrāta, son of Hastin belonging to the Maukhari clan.³⁷ Dhanutrāta too gave 1000 cows in charity on the occasion.

(D) *The Yūpa Pillar of Bicipuriā*:—Another *yūpa* pillar inscription of *Samvat* 321 (=265 or 264 A.D.) has recently been discovered in the courtyard of the Bicipuriā temple situated at Nagar in the *ṭhikānā* Uṇiārā of the Jaipur unit. This area was once included in the Mālava territory. The inscription³⁸ has been deciphered as follows :

34. *Ephigraphia Indica*, XXIII, pp. 42-52. These 3 epigraphs have all been dated in the *Kṛita* year 295-239 or 238 A. D.

35. M. L. Sharma, *Koṭā Rājya kā Itihāsa*, I, p. 24. Cf. *AIU*, p. 369 also.

36. ...*Mahāsenāpateḥ Mokhareḥ Balaputrasya.....Yūpaḥ Trirātra saṇmitasya dakṣiṇyaṃ gavāṃ sahasraṃ.*

37. *Maukhare Hastiputrasya Dhanutrātasya dhimataḥ Āptoryāmaṇaḥ kratoh yūpaḥ sahasro-gava-dakṣiṇā* (*Ep. Indica*, XXIV, pp. 251 ff.)

38. *The Maru Bhārati*, Hindi, Pilani, I, (2), pp. 38-9; edited by Dr. Satya Prakāśa.

- (i) *Sam* 300. 20. 1. *Phaguna Śuklapakṣasya*
- (ii) *Pañcadaśa Ahiśarama a(gni) hotusya*
- (iii) *Dharakaputrasya...Yūpa(śca) (punya)medhatu.*

The existing epigraph does not refer to any particular type of sacrifice as having been performed by Ahiśaraman, son of Dharaka.

(E) *The Barnālā Yūpa Pillars*:—It was about 20 years ago that D.R. Sahni discovered two *yūpa* pillars at Barnālā, situated about 8 miles from the Lalsote-Gaṅgāpur fair weather road in the Jaipur unit of Rājasthān. These stone pillars have now been shifted to the archaeological museum at Amber and are dated³⁹ in the *Kṛita* years 284 (=228 or 227 A.D.) and 335 (=279 or 278 A.D.).

(i) The inscription of the year 284 refers to 7 *yūpas* (*yūpa-sattako*) as having been erected by a person who belonged to the *Soharita gotra* and his name ended in *varddhana*. It is very likely that he had performed the *Sapta-soma yajña* and erected one pillar at the end of every sacrifice. It is regretted that there is no reference to the charity made by the sacrificer.

(ii) The other inscription, of the year 335, informs us that the sacrificer was a *Vaiṣṇava* by faith and had performed 5 *Trirātra* sacrifices. Besides this, the number of the cows, given in charity, amounted to 90 but with their "calves". Thus he appears to have donated only 18 cows per sacrifice, each cow of course accompanied by a calf. It is evident that he did not adhere to the strict rules and regulations as propounded by the literary texts; very likely his poverty was the reason of such a low award in charity.

It is very interesting to note the concluding portion of the second epigraph wherein the prayer runs thus:—"Viṣṇu would be pleased and religion promoted by his action". This shows that the sacrifices were performed, charities were given and the *yūpas* erected with a view to please the *iṣṭadevatās* and also to promote the cause of religion and piety.

39. *Sambhar*, pp. 3 ff.; *Epigraphia Indica*, XXVI, pp. 118 ff. A photograph of one pillar has also been reproduced by Sahni in *Sambhar*, plate XVII. a.

Such was the social outlook of the people towards the third century A.D.⁴⁰ This state of affairs, in the contemporary Rājaputānā (of course in the eastern part of it) is very interesting indeed. The utter absence of this sort of material (pertaining to the Western Rājaputānā) in fact creates a knotty problem. It is not yet possible to account for the paucity of any such evidence relating to the Jodhpur and the Bikaner divisions. Future discoveries may enable us to say something on this problem.

III. Gupta Period.

(A) *Art and Sculpture*:—(1) *Bhīnmāl Viṣṇu Image*. It was about a few years ago that Dr. U. P. Shah of Baroda happened to discover and acquire an interesting sculpture of Viṣṇu at Bhīnmāl (Mārwar). This stone image of *sthānaka* Viṣṇu appears to have been made somewhere towards the end of the Kuṣāṇa age or in the beginning of the Gupta period.⁴¹

(2) *Vijayagarh Inscription of Year 428*:—The Vijaygarh (Bharatpur region) Inscription of the year 428 (=372 or 371 A.D.) has been inscribed on a stone pillar and refers to a certain ruler named Viṣṇu-Vardhana who belonged to the *Varika* tribe.⁴² The purport of this epigraph is to record the erection of the *Yūpa* pillar after the completion of the *Puṇḍarika* sacrifice:—*Puṇḍarīke yūpoyam pratiṣṭhāpitassupratiṣṭhita-rājya nāmadheyena śrī Viṣṇuvarddhanena Varikeṇa Yaśovarddhanasatputreṇa Yaśorātasatpautreṇa Vyāghrātasatprapauttreṇa*. The *yūpa* was “caused to be set up for the purpose of increasing his (i.e. Viṣṇuvardhana’s)

40. The ancient tradition of the Vedic sacrifices and their performance can be traced back to very early times in Rājaputānā. Consult my paper in *Nāgarī Pracārīnī Patrikā*, Hindi, LIX (2), pp. 116-22; Cf. B. C. Chhabra’s paper in the *Indian Antique*, Leyden, 1947, pp. 77-83.

41. This sculpture was transferred (from its original site) by Dr. U. P. Shah. This is, in fact, the earliest sculpture, so far known, from Mārwar region. Dr. Shah has made a passing note of the sculpture in *The Journal of Indian Museums*, 1952, VIII, p. 49. f. n. 1.

42. J. Fleet’s *Corp. Ind.*, III, pp. 253-4, plate XXXVI C. The inscription also refers to the father, grandfather and great grandfather of the ruling Chief. Cf. also *CAS*, vi, pp. 59 ff.; *Indian Antiquary*, xlii, pp. 161 ff.; *R. G. Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume*, pp. 187 ff., *Bhandarkar’s List of Brahmi Insc.*, no. 2.

splendour, sacrifices, religion, welfare (in the other world), prosperity, fame, family, lineage, good fortune and enjoyment"⁴³ (*Śrī-Yajña dharma-śśreyobbhyudaya-yaśaḥ -kulavaṃśa-bhogābhiv riddhaye*).⁴⁴ Further, the last line (i.e., 4th) of the inscription throws sufficient light on the beliefs and optimistic notions of the contemporary times. It is infact a prayer for peace and prosperity i.e., "Let there be success; let there be increase; let there be tranquility; let there be the condition of (his) having a son who shall live ! Let there be the attainment of desires that are wished for. May there be faith and wealth"⁴⁵ (*Siddhirastu puṣṭirastu śāntirastu jīva-puttrattvamastviṣṭakāmāvāptirastu śrī (śra)ddhavitte syātāmīti*).⁴⁶

Fleet (*ibid*, p. 253) suggests that "in all probability, *Varika* Viṣṇuvardhana was a feudatory of the early Gupta king Samudragupta." It is of course not possible to accept this suggestion with definiteness.

(3) *Nagari Epigraphs*

(a) A fragmentary inscription⁴⁷ (of about the 4th century A.D.) from Nagari also refers to the erection of a *yūpa* and the performance of the *Vājapeya* sacrifice. The text of this epigraph runs in 3 small lines i.e.:—

- (i) *Tasya putrai (r) Yūpa*
- (ii) *...sya Vājapeye yūpo*
- (iii) *...jñe Vājapeye.*

(b) Another inscription⁴⁸ of *saṃvat* 481 (=425 or 424 A.D.) from the same place too is very important for it bears testimony to the continuity of the Viṣṇu-cult in Rājasthāna up to the 5th century A.D. The system of recording the date⁴⁹ too is to be marked with interest here. The object of the epigraph is to

43. *Ibid*, p. 254.

44. *Ibid*, p. 253.

45. *Ibid*, p. 254.

46. *Ibid*, p. 253.

47. *Archaeological Remains and Excavations at Nāgari*, *MAI*, no. 4, by Dr. R. Bhandarkar, p. 120.

48. *Ibid*, pp. 121-2.

49. i.e., *Ayān Mālava-pūrvvāyām* 481 *Kārtika śukla pañcamyām*.

“record the erection of a temple to Viṣṇu by 3 *baniā* brothers.” The existence of a temple of *Viṣṇupāda* at Nagari, in the 5th century A.D., is well known to the scholars of ancient Indian history and culture (Cf. *NHIP*, p. 372, f. n. 1; G.H. Ojha, *Hist. of Rājputānā*, Hindī, I, p. 356).

(4) *Gaṅgadhāra Pillar Inscription.*

The Gaṅgadhāra⁵⁰ (Jhālāwāḍa State) Stone Pillar Inscription of the year 480 (—424 or 423 A. D.) records that during the regime of king Viśvavarman, numerous public works such as irrigation, wells, tanks, temples etc., were carried out. Besides this, it also throws a good deal of light on the social and religious conditions of Rājputānā towards the first half of the 5th century A. D., i.e.,

(i) Adoration of Viṣṇu and Indra (in line 1).

(ii) King Naravarman “pleased the gods with sacrifices, the saints with observances of a noble nature, servants with honourable treatment that was unequalled in the world” (Fleet, *Op. Cit.* p. 76. lines 2 to 4). It is further summed up that his son was an abode of all round virtues (lines 5 to 28) and got completed numerous operations pertaining to public welfare and religion. Such was the ruling chief named as Viśvarman.

(iii) Viśvavarman had a minister named Mayūrākṣaka who was an ardent devotee of the *Vaiṣṇava* faith. Mayūrākṣaka caused to be built by his sons a shrine⁵¹ in honour of Lord Viṣṇu (lines 28-34, verse 20:—*Viṣṇosthānamakārayadbhagavataś-śrīmān Mayūrākṣakaḥ*).

Not only that, Mayūrākṣaka also built a temple full of *Dākinīs*⁵² in honour of the Divine Mothers who utter loud and tremendous shouts in joy and stir up the oceans with the mighty wind rising from the magic rites of their religion (verse 23):—

50. Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, op. cit., pp. 76 ff.; Cf. *Select Inscriptions I*, 1942, Calcutta, pp. 379 ff.

51. *Select Inscriptions*, op. cit., pp. 383-4.

52. *Dākinī* denotes, a female feeding on human flesh’ (Moneir William, *A Skt. Eng. Dictionary*, Oxford, 1899, p. 430).

Mātrīnāṅka (pramu)ḍita *ghanātyartha mīhrādīnīnām*. *Tantrōd-bhūta-pravala-pavanodvartti-tāmbhonidhīnām...gatamidaṃ dākinīsaṃ-prakīrṇām veśmātyuggraṃ nṛpatiḥ sacivo akārayat punyāhetoh*. This state of affairs goes a long way in bearing testimony to the mighty influence of the *Tāntrika*-cult of the Mother Goddess in *Rājasthāna* somewhere towards the beginning of the fifth century A.D. Even the *Vaiṣṇavas* had begun to pay their homage to the *Tāntrika* deities. Dr. D.C. Sircar⁵³ remarks that "in this connection it may be noted that in the 5th century A.D., the Maukharī Chief Anantavarman installed an image of Kṛṣṇa at Nāgārjunī hill and also of *Ardhanārīśvara* and *Devī* in another cave. This, no doubt, points to an early approach between *Vaiṣṇavism* on the one hand, and the *Śaiva* and *Śākta* worship on the other. The early *Cālukyas* of *Bādāmī*, whose family-god was *Viṣṇu*, also worshipped *Kārttikeya* and the 7 Mothers".

(5) *Inscription of Bhramara-Mātā Temple.*

A rectangular inscribed slab, once built into a niche in the temple of *Bhramara-mātā* (two miles from *Chhoṭī Sādaḍī*, *Udaipur* region), has now been transferred to the *Udaipur Museum*. It bears an interesting epigraph of the (*Vikrama*) year 547 (— 490-1 A.D.,) and states⁵⁴ that a temple of *Devī* (i.e., *Durgā*) *triśūlapāṇī* and *asura-saṃhāriṇī* was "built by *Yaśogupta*, son of *Rājyavardhana* and grandson of *Dhanyasoma*, a king of the *Gauḍa-Kṣatriya* family on the 10th day of the bright half of *Māgha* in *Samvat* 547". The name of the royal family, as referred to in this unpublished epigraph, has now rightly been read as *Mānavayānī* and the name of the ruler of that dynasty

53. In his chapter published in *The Classical Age*, pp. 421-2. G. H. Ojha (*History of Rājputānā*, I, 1927, p. 126) goes to the extent of remarking that this verse refers to a temple of the *Mātrikās* built on the *Tāntrika* style. Cf. *Select Inscriptions*, I, op. cit., p. 385, f. n. 4.

54. *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1929-30, p. 187.

55. Cf. *Indian Archaeology—A Review* (1953-54), 1954, New Delhi, p. 13. Pt. A. K. Vyas, Superintendent, Museum Udaipur, kindly showed me this well preserved inscription which has been inscribed in very beautiful characters of the Gupta period. It begins with an invocation in honour of the *devī* as already cited above.

as Gauri or Śauri.⁵⁵ The discovery of this local dynasty of the Udaipur region is very important indeed.

(6) *Bikaner Statue.*

The base of an unpublished fragmentary terracotta relievo statue from Munḍā (Bikaner region) and now preserved in the Bikaner Museum, depicts the feet of a figure and at the base have been inscribed some characters in the cursive Brāhmī script of the Gupta period. The first 5 letters may be read as *Yaśodākṛiti*. It is very likely that the inscription of this small statue refers to some representation of Yaśodā—the foster mother of Kṛiṣṇa Vāsudeva.

(7) *Maṇḍora Pillars or Torṇa-Stambhas.*

It was about 50 years ago that the archaeological excavations at Maṇḍora (ancient capital of Mārṇār; about 5½ miles from Jodhpur) brought to light 2 huge rectangular stone pillars which have now been preserved in the Sardar Museum at Jodhpur. One of these pillars depict some blurred inscription; only the remnants of the triangles above the letters now bear testimony to its having belonged to the Gupta period. These pillars present various scenes from the life of Lord Kṛiṣṇa⁵⁶ i.e., *Śakaṭa-bhaṅga*, *Govardhana-dhārṇa*, fight with ass and bull demons, *Kāliya-nāga damana*...etc.

Besides this, they present an interesting study of the costumes as worn by men and women in the contemporary times. In the words of D.R. Bhandarkar (*Arch. Surv. of India, Annual Report, 1905-6*, pp. 135-40), "the lower dress of Kṛiṣṇa⁵⁷ consists of the loin cloth passed round the waist and then gathered in

56. *Arch. Surv. of India, Annual Report, 1909-10*, pp. 93 ff.; *ibid.*, 1905-6, pp. 135-40; *Prog. Rep. Arch. Surv. W. Circle*, Poona, 1907, pp. 30 ff.; A. Coomarswamy, *Indian and Indonesian Art*, London, p. 26, f. n. 3; *Journals of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, XIV, 1946, pp. 18-19 and f. n. 1 of p. 19; *The Classical Age*, 1954, Bombay, pp. 521-2. It is not possible to agree with G. H. Ojha who (*Hist. of Jodhpur*, I, Hindi, 1938, p. 26, f. n. 3) likes to place the existing pillars somewhere towards the 10th century A. D. Each of the pillars measures about 13 feet in height.

57. Also consult Dr. Moti Chandra, *Prācīna Bharatīya Veśa Bhūṣā*, Prayāga, Hindi, p. 199 and figure no. 336 on p. 201.

front with the folds left between the legs and reaching down to the feet. These folds are, however, tucked in behind in case of Balarāma. The waist is tied by a scarf with both the ends loose and hanging to the knees; his lower dress, bearing a close correspondence to that of the figures sculptured on the Sañchī gateways. Both wear two necklaces (one short and one long), the former consisting of wreath of beads and the latter of two or three strings inlaid with precious stones. Both wear large ear-rings, those of Kṛṣṇa in the scene of the uplifting Govardhana, being almost exactly like those of figures in the earlier Ajantā paintings. So far as can be seen, Balarāma has only two bracelets, one on each hand. Kṛṣṇa, on the other hand, has 4 bracelets (two on each hand) and also wears armlets. The head-dress, as was first kindly pointed out to me by Mr. Cousens, is probably not a turban but a tuft of the hair, the latter being drawn up on the top of the head with a fillet of cord tied round it close to the head, the end of the hair thus forming a tuft. There are also side appendages, which look like ram's horns, curling back from the forehead round the ears resembling in this respect the head-dress on a mediaeval scale."

It is very likely that the above pillars had once formed some portion of a gateway to some *Vaiṣṇava* shrine existing in the Gupta period at Maṇḍora. It is regretted that this ancient temple area has not yielded any antiquity pertaining to the Gupta period.

(8) *Bikaner Terracottas.*

The discovery of several terracotta-reliefs⁵⁸ from Raṅgamahal, Baḍopol, Muṇḍā, Pīrasultān...etc.,—all situated in the Bikaner region, has a great bearing on the history of the plastic art of the Gupta period. These interesting pieces⁵⁹ also present some *Vaiṣṇava* and *Saiva* themes. Somewhat similar antiquities

⁵⁸. Now preserved in the Bikaner Museum.

⁵⁹. For their description consult H. Goetz, *op. cit.*, p. 26; *ASR*, 1917-18 pt. I, pp. 22-3; *ibid*, 1918-19, pt. I, pp. 22-3; *Prog. Rep. Arch. Surv. W. Circle ending 1921*, pp. 114-5; L. P. Tessitore in *Bikaner Golden Jubilee Volume*, 1887, 1937, Bombay, 1937, p. 78.

have also been reported from Pahārpur (Bengal), Ahicchatra (U. P.) etc. Dr. H. Goetz (*Art and Architecture of the Bikaner State*, Oxford, 1950, p. 26) is justified to remark that "the terracotta sculptures from Raṅgamahal and Baḍopol must have belonged to Hindu temples, of which unfortunately all direct vestiges have disappeared. The oldest temple may have been erected shortly after the fall of the Kuṣāṇa empire (Circa 200 A. D.) with the help of the artists from the East Panjab, for the reliefs in *Mathurā*⁶⁰ Style (i.e., goddess, donors etc.) cannot be later than the 3rd century A. D." He (*ibid*, p. 50) also adds that "the temple or temples from which come the reliefs with mythological subjects, on the other hand, must have been built or reconstructed in the early 5th century and were possibly connected with a Gupta military and trade-post. The place occupies an important strategic position, at the junction of the Ghaggar and the Chittaṅg valleys like the present day fort and town of Sūratgarh, 5 miles to the west. It seems likely that this Gupta-post was connected with the Panjab by a chain of other posts along the Ghaggar Valley". Dr. Goetz (*ibid*, p. 58) even goes to the extent of opining that "these foundations belonged to the pyramidal temples of cruciform plan and decorated with set-in-terracotta plaques such as have been excavated at Ahicchatra, Pahārpur and Nandangarh. Probably they were destroyed in the Hūṇa-Gurjar invasion and for centuries no other shrine worth mention seem to have been erected."

In the words of Dr. L.P. Tessitory (as cited in *ASR*, 1917-18, pt. I, pp. 22-3), "a general and very characteristic feature of all these reliefs is the classical treatment of the drapery and of the hair which at once betrays the influence of the Gandhāra school. The men are represented as bare-headed and beardless, with naked busts except for a collar-like ornament round their necks and a sort of narrow scarf thrown over one or both their shoulders

60. It has been noted in *Prog. Rep. Arch. Surv. W. Circle*, 1921, p. 114 that some of these pieces "prove definitely the connection of the art of this part of the Pañjāb with that of Mathurā in the earlier centuries of the Christian Era".

(*ibid*, plate XIII. 4-5). The females are represented variously but mostly with naked or half-naked busts, only partially covered with a scarf hanging from their head down the back and gathered up over the arms and partly Indian and partly classical ornaments (*ibid*, plate XIII. 6-7)".

Besides this, the existing terracottas throw a flood of light on the luxurious tastes and the religious notions of the people of the Bikaner region during the contemporary times (Cf. H. Goetz, *Art and Architecture of the Bikaner State*, 1950, Oxford, pp. 26-7).

The Bikaner terracottas may be discussed, in brief, as follows :—

(i) Headless female figure (*ASR*, 1918-19, plate XIV a) presents the folds of garments and outline of body indicating some distant connection with the Gandhāra school and an intimate connection with that of Mathurā (*Prog. Rep. Ar. Surv. W. Circle*, 1921, p. 114).

(ii) Bust of a lady, holding a glass in her right hand and throwing something with her left. The happy smile on the face has been taken to be characteristic of the Mathurā Work. (*ibid*).

(iii) A male figure having his left breast undraped and a loose garment thrown over the right shoulder. He has long hair which have been combed back from his forehead. He is not taken to be a monk (*ibid*).

(iv) Bust of a male and female with hands clasped round each other's neck (*ibid*, plate XXXV, upper photograph). It is interesting because of the garments put on by them. The lady wears "a close-fitting bodice which is partly open at the breast revealing the nipples of the breast. She also wears a gown of the same shape as now in use in Mathurā and the southern Panjab"; the dress of the male person constituting a close-fitting head-dress⁶¹ or cap while the breast portion is naked (*ibid*).

61. In the words of Dr. Goetz, *op. cit.*, p. 26, "the ladies' head-dress bear some resemblance to Gandhāran or Palmyrene types. Nevertheless, the style of the reliefs comes much nearer to Mathurā than to the Gandhāra school."

(v) A lady holding a bottle in both the hands. She is dressed in "a gown similar to that worn by the women of this part of country at present; also a close-fitting bodice which is open over the breasts" (*ibid*).

(vi) A lady having the upper part of her body without any drapery (*ibid*).

(vii) Torso of a male putting on a hat (*ibid*).

(viii) A male person having the upper part of his body clothed in leaves (*ibid*).

(ix) A railing pillar in the form of a brick slab (*ASR*, 1918-19, pt. I, plate XIV b).

(x) Fragments of cornices, frames and friezes with acanthus leaf, chequered and squamellate designs, brackets, rosettes (*ibid*, 1917) 1-18, pt. I, plate XII, nos. 2 to 4 etc.

(xi) Terracotta animal representations i.e. "a winged crouching *Garuda* (*ibid*, plate XII. 5); a monster with a bovine head, human bust and a single elephantine foot (*ibid*, plate XII. 6); and an elephant⁶² carrying a man on his back in a prone position (*ibid*, plate XII. 7, p. 22)".

(xii) A relief depicting some goddess or lady. In the opinion of Dr. Goetz (*op. cit.*, p. 26), "a goddess seems to hold a cornucopia like *Ardokṣo* and the *Yakṣī Hārītī* of Gandhāra art. But it may equally well represent a woman devotee on her way to the temple with a bowl of offerings."

(xiii) A woman at the toilet⁶³; relief from Baḍopol. The dress and ornamentation of the lady is very attractive indeed.

(xiv) *Śiva-Pārvatī*:—This relief⁶⁴ was discovered at Raṅga-mahal and depicts Śiva and Pārvatī seated together side by side. In the existing relief, Śiva has also been endowed with the

Cf. also Spooner's remarks (*ASR*, 1917-18, pt. I, p. 23):—"The most striking classical features of these reliefs is perhaps the bodice worn by the women represented in plate XIII. 7, which with its short sleeves and armour like decorations has a very marked Roman appearance."

62. This last piece has also been illustrated by Goetz, *op. cit.*, p. 26. But it is not possible to agree with Dr. Goetz when he suggests that the figure 'probably represents Gaṇeśa.'

63. H. Goetz, *op. cit.*, figure I, p. 26.

64. *Ibid*, figure 4; *ASR*, 1917-18, pt. I, plate XXIII. 2.

third eye on the forehead in a similar manner as has also depicted on the well known Gupta sculptures from Mandisor.⁶⁵ The terracotta from Raṅgamahal depicts Śiva seated on his *vāhana* Nandī. He is touching the right side of his breast with the fingers of his right hand; and holds a long necked pot⁶⁶ in the left hand. This pot is placed on his left thigh. Above his head appears a *gaṇa* while a male devotee is to be seen seated near his right knee. Besides this, a flying *apsarā* is to be seen still above the *gaṇa* cited above.

The males and females here (Śiva and his male devotee) put on a small *dhotī* which does not reach even their knees while the ends of this *dhotī* hang in the middle. They also wear necklaces, ear-rings, bracelets...etc. A sacred-thread is appearing on Śiva's body.

As regards Pārvatī, she has been shown seated to the left of her husband and holds a typical mirror in her left hand. This mirror has got a long handle. Pārvatī wears a petticoat (modern Indian *ghāgharā* or *lahāṅgā*), the vertical folds of which are clearly visible and which hangs down up to her feet. Dr. Goetz (*op. cit.*, p. 26) thinks that the dress of Pārvatī is Hellenistic but such a view does not appear to be a cogent one. The use of the *lahāṅgā* or the petticoat, as worn by Pārvatī, is very common nowadays throughout the whole of Rājasthāna. The female devotee of Pārvatī too is dressed likewise. The hair decoration of the females here is equally charming.

The above terracotta-relief presents an interesting feature i.e., Śiva endowed with two additional side faces. This *trimūrti* form and the third eye on the forehead of Śiva enrich the importance of the existing terracotta plaque.

(xv) *Śiva-līṅga*:—This terracotta plaque⁶⁷ comes from Baḍopol

65. For this sculpture consult *Annual Report of the Deptt. of Archaeology, Gwalior State, Samvat 1982*, p. 12; *Ancient India, Bull. Arch. Surv. of India*, New Delhi, VI, plate XIX B, p. 54.

66. The Kosam relief of the Gupta period too depicts a somewhat similar water-vessel in the left hand of Śiva. For the Kosam relief, consult *The Classical Age*, 1954, Bombay, p. 434, plate XXIII, figure 53.

67. Goetz, *op. cit.*, figure 6, p. 26.

and depicts *Ekamukha Śiva-līṅga*. Dr. Goetz has marked the figure as “*Śiva-līṅga* under a canopy” but it presents something more. Here we have clear depiction of the *yonī* symbol (just above the *līṅga*) and not any canopy. The existing *Śiva-līṅga* comes under the category of the *Eka-mukha*⁶⁸ *Śivalīṅgas*. Śiva here too has been endowed with a third eye, marked vertically on the forehead.

(xvi) *Govardhanadhara Kṛṣṇa*⁶⁹:—This known terracotta relief was picked up from Raṅgamahal. It depicts Kṛṣṇa lifting the Mountain Govardhana on his raised left hand while the right hand has been placed on the hip. The dress and ornaments of Kṛṣṇa include the tiara on the head, ear-rings, bracelets, and the typical *vana-mālā* hanging down up to the knees. He is also shown with moustaches. Besides this, the cows and the humped bulls seek shelter from the wrath of Indra and have well been depicted on both the sides of Kṛṣṇa. The Govardhana mountain, above his head, has been studded with wild animals such as lions etc.

(xvii) *Dāna-līlā*⁷⁰:—It was about 40 years ago that D. B. Spooner (*ASR*, 1917-18, pt. I, p. 22) had described the existing plaque as “a representation of an idyllic scene between a man and a woman standing under a tree.” But it seems to refer to the *dāna-līlā* episode associated with the life of Kṛṣṇa i.e., Kṛṣṇa demanding tribute from a milk-maid. The existing plaque presents a vivid view of the costumes of the males and females. Kṛṣṇa, here, does not wear any upper garment. The lower portion of his body is covered with a *dhotī* which reaches up to his knees. The milkmaid, with a milk-vessel placed on her head, wears the typical *lahāṅgā* or petticoat⁷¹ and covers her head

68. Dr. V. S. Agrawala (*NHIP*, p. 448) opines that “both *līṅga* form and the anthropomorphic image of Śiva existed in the Kuṣāṇa period but their combination, as evolved in the *Ekamukhī* and *Caturmukhī* *Śivalīṅgas*, was a characteristic feature of the Gupta iconography.”

69. Goetz, *op. cit.*, figure 5; *ASR*, 1917-18, pt. I, p. 22, plate XIII. 1.

70. Goetz, *op. cit.*, figure 3; *ASR*, 1917-18, pt. I, plate XIII. 1 3.

71. This *lahāṅgā* is so tied that her naval portion is clearly visible. Besides this, this nether garment has been so stitched as to give clear indications of it

with a *cūṇḍarī* which constitutes the common dress of every *Rājasthānī* lady even nowadays.

(9) *Terracottas from Nagari*:—The archaeological excavations at Nagari (ancient Madhyamikā, near Chittaur) brought to light several moulded-brick terracotta-plaques of a high order. In the words of D. R. Bhandarkar,⁷² these terracottas, “can in point of texture and artistic merit, bear comparison with those that are found in Gandhāra. Evidently this plastic art seems to have flourished greatly in Madhyamikā and the question arises—why should it have been in such practice at Nagari where stone-mouldings alone would be expected. Perhaps the explanation is that it was brought by the Śibis from the Pañjāb. It however deserves to be noticed that whereas some motifs from the Greek art were clearly borrowed in the Gandhāra terracottas, they are conspicuous by their absence in the Madhyamikā specimens. The Śibis migrated into the southern part of Rājputānā about 150 B.C. at a time when Greek art had not yet exercised any influence over that of Gandhāra and this seems to be the reason why no Greek influence is traceable in the terracottas found at Nagari”

(10) *Antiquities from Sambhar*

(a) The discovery of merely a neck and a handle of an earthen pot from Sambhar is very interesting indeed (*Sambhar*, plate IV. a and plate XVI a). In words of D. R. Sahnī⁷³ (*ibid*, p. 25), “the neck represents what I tentatively identify as the three eyed head of Śiva and the handle which has the form of a nude female figure standing with joined hands, the sacred river Gaṅgā. If this assumption is correct, *the two parts combined*

being quite different from that worn by *Pārvaṭī* and cited above. Dr. Moti Chandra (*Prācīna Bhāratiya Vēṣa-bhūṣā*, p. 125) has remarked that *lahaṅgā* first of all appears in the sculptures and art of the Kuṣāṇa period.

72. *Archaeological Remains and Excavations at Nagari*, *MAI*, No. 4, 1920, Calcutta, p. 127; Cf. *The Classical Age*, *op. cit.*, pp. 521-28 for a sculptural representation of Gupta period from the same place.

73. Cf. also my paper on “The Rāmāyaṇa Scenes in Rājasthāna Sculptures” published in *The Indian Historical Quarterly*, June 1954, pp. 154-5; cf. *Rairh*, pp. 14 and 23.

would illustrate the well known legend of the *Rāmāyaṇa* relating to the descent of the celestial river from the matted hair of Śiva which she had condescended to do in response to the prayer of Bhagīratha, the great-grandson of Sagara." This vase has been assigned to the Gupta period.

(b) Fragment of a pottery plaque, depicting Śiva and Pārvatī⁷⁴ in the *sthānaka* mudrā, bear close resemblance to a similar group discovered at Kosam (*Sambhar*, p. 26, plate V (a)).

(c) Another fragmentary white pottery tablet which depicts probably Durgā⁷⁵ slaying the demon Mahiṣāsura (*ibid*, p. 26, plate V. b).

(d) A terracotta dabber. On one side of it have been engraved the letters *ṭobho* in the *Brāhmī* characters of the Gupta period. Sahni (*ibid*, p. 27) thinks that the phrase "would appear to have been the name of its owner."

(11) Antiquities from Rairh:—

(a) A terracotta relief depicts a female figure sitting on the lap of a male figure. K. N. Puri (*Rairh*, plate XV f, p. 30) assigns this antiquity to the Gupta period and suggest that it "may also represent Śiva and Pārvatī in an amorous pose."

(b) The ancient site of Rairh also yielded a handle of a jar depicting the river goddess, of exactly the same type as found at Naliasar Sambhar (*Rairh*, p. 23, plate XVIII. 3).^{75a}

It is to be noted that the antiquities, of this, period, from *Rairh*, are very few in number. But it is not plausible to reject the possibility of the site being in partial occupation till the early Gupta period. The Mālava republic, inhabiting the region of Nagar and Rairh, was powerful enough up to the beginning

74. Pārvatī, here, wears a "coiffeur decorated with flowers and her nether garment is secured to the legs by means of a girdle; while Śiva wears a girdle of *munja* grass" (*Sambhar*, p. 26).

75. "The legs of the goddess are swathed in a nether garment secured round the waist with a girdle of 6 chains of beads and with a heavy tassel hanging between the legs" (*Ibid*).

75. (A) The discovery of several terracottas of the Mother Goddess at Rairh is very important indeed (consult *Tairh*, pp. 27 ff.).

of the regime of emperor Samudra Gupta⁷⁶ (i.e., 4th century A.D.).

(12) *Antiquities from Kotah region*:—A habitation site of the Gupta age has recently been discovered near Raipur-ki-Radhi in the Kotah region.⁷⁷ Besides this, some epigraphs, in the script of the Gupta period, have been engraved on stone slabs fixed in the Śiva temple at Chārachaumā.⁷⁸

(13) *Antiquities from Jodhpur Division*

(a) Reference to the well known pillars from Maṇḍora and the Viṣṇu image from Bhīnmāl has already been made above. The Sardar Museum at Jodhpur also contains a broken sculpture (*of Padmaṣāṇi deva*) which was excavated at the garden-area⁷⁹ of Maṇḍora. This huge piece of red stone is very important for the deity wears a head-dress which resembles the head-dress of the judges of the high courts during the British rule in India. It is all the more charming to note the use of this typical head-dress on the sculptures of the Gupta age from Deogarh⁸⁰ (U.P.). It is not plausible to place the above sculpture⁸¹ of Maṇḍora in the later Gupta period.

(b) Śrī Agar Chand Nāhaṭā (*Anekānta*, Hindi, X (7-8), Jan. Feb., 1950, pp. 272-3)) has noted that a Jaina image of the Gupta period stands installed in the Mahāvīra temple at Bhīnmāl. He has also stated that a hoard of about 1050 bronzes from Sirohī included some images of the Gupta period

76. Cf. The phrase *Mālavārjunāyana-yaudheya...sarvakaradānājnākaraṇa pranā-māgamana paritoṣita pracanda-sāsanasya* in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudra Gupta (*Select Inscriptions*, op. cit., p. 528).

77. A. Ghosh, *Indian Archaeology—a Review* 1953-54, New Delhi, 1954, p. 38.

78. M. L. Sharma, *Koṭā Rājya kā Itihāsa*, Hindi, I, p. 25 and Appendix nos. 2, 3 on p. 362 for the texts of the epigraphs.

79. This site also yielded a huge earthen-jar on the rims of which were incised some letters in the *Brāhmī* script of the Gupta period. These letters are *vi, kha, ya*. This interesting jar is now exhibited in the Jodhpur Museum and measures about 5 feet in height.

80. For the Deogarh sculptures, consult M.S. Vats, *The Gupta Temple at Deogarh, Memoir of the Arch. Surv. of India*, New Delhi, p. 36 and plates XXVII 17, X etc.

81. Cf. my paper in the *Nāgarī Pracārini Pratikā*, Hindi, Banaras, p. where I wrongly assigned it to the later Gupta period; Cf. also *ibid*, liv, (i), p. 28.

too. It is of course extremely essential to scrutinise the above views of Mr. Nāhaṭā with great care and caution.

(c) It was about 50 years ago that a certain officer of the Archaeological Survey happened to find some letters of the early Gupta script carved on the *Nāhaḍa-Rao-Kā-Thāna*, situated on the ancient fort of Maṇḍora.⁸²

(d) The Sardar Museum at Jodhpur also contains an interesting huge earthen jar (measuring about 4'7½" in height and about 10' in circumference) excavated at Maṇḍora. On the rims of this storage jar were incised certain letters⁸³ (i.e., *vi, kha, ya*) in the script of the Gupta period.

(e) It was some years ago that a life-size red-stone statue of *sthānaka* Viṣṇu was excavated while digging the canal at Pālī. This piece is now exhibited in the Jodhpur Museum and measures more than 6 feet in height. It may be assigned to the later Gupta period and depicts the deity⁸⁴ wearing a long crown, necklace and the *vanamālā* hanging down up to the knees. It is unfortunate that all the hands of Viṣṇu are broken; the remnants of a mace and a lotus being visible on one side.

(14) *Antiquities from Bharatpur region*:—The discovery of some Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava sculptures at Kāmān, Rūpabāsa etc., is very important indeed. They may be noted as follows:—

(a) *Varāha* image from Kāmān (*PRASWC*, 1919, p. 64).

(b) A bas-relief from Kāmān depicting the *Matsya*, *Kūrma*, *Varāha*, *Nṛsiṃha* and *Vāmana* incarnations of Viṣṇu (*ibid*, plate XXIV). This needs comparison with the one from Telī-kā-Mandua situated on the Fort Gwalior. The relief from Kāmān depicts "the mount Meru on the back of the tortoise with the body of *Śeṣanāga* coiled round it and two gods holding

82. *Progress Report of Archaeological Survey, Western Circle*, Poona, 1907, pp. 30 and ff.

83. They appear to have been some marks of a potter. It was in the *Journal of Indian Museums*, 1953, Bombay, p. 146 that a later date was wrongly assigned to this pot—which has now been exhibited in the Archaeology Section of the aforesaid museum. Cf. also my paper in the *Nāgarī Pracārīṇī Patika*,

84. It was in the *Journal of the Indian Museums*, IX, 1953, p. 104 that I had the privilege of making a brief reference of this interesting sculpture. Besides this, a photograph of it also was published by me in *ibid*, plate XXII figure 45.

the ends. The two small figures are standing between the images of the *Matsya* and the *Varāha* incarnations.

(c) Two *Śiva līngas* (*ibid*, plate xxvi, upper part, p. 65) from Kāmān.

(d) Bas Relief, depicting the 'Marriage of Śiva and Pārvatī' (*ibid*, p. 65, plate xxv, upper part) from Kāmān, is now preserved in the Rājputānā Museum at Ajmer. This is a very interesting piece⁸⁵ and is of its own type from Rājasthāna. The pose of Śiva and Pārvatī is elegant. The thin, almost transparent, clothes of Pārvatī and Śiva's upper garment and the Snake-*yajñopavīta* have been depicted in an artistic and charming manner.

(e) Rock-cut huge statues of Balarāma, Revatī etc., have been noticed at Rūpabāsa. These are some of the best specimens of the Gupta art. The image of Balarāma measures 22½ feet while that of Revatī is 19'33" (Cunningham's and Carlisle's *Arch. Survey Reports XX*, p. 98).⁸⁶

(15) *Dearth of Sūrya and Brahmā Icons*:— It is regretted that we have not yet been able to discover any image (of the Gupta period) which may enable us to throw any light on the worship of Brahmā or Sūrya or Rāma in the region of Rājaputānā. Nay, there is utter dearth of any such material (pertaining to Sūrya-worship etc.) from Newāḍa—which is just adjacent to Mandisor; the latter having been noted for the existence of a famous Sun-temple during the later part of the Gupta regime.⁸⁷ The archaeological excavations at various sites of the region too fail to throw any light on the problem.

85. A similar sculpture, but of a later period, from this place has also been preserved in the Ajmer Museum. Consult T. G. Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Madras, II (1), pp. 137-8, plate xxvi. 2.

86. Cf. *ibid*, VI, p. 20; also my paper on 'The Kṛṣṇalīlā Scenes in Rājasthān Sculptures' in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, December, 1954; A. Coomaraswamy, *Indian and Indonesian Art*, London, pp. 86-7; Rai Kṛṣṇa Dass, *Prācīna Bhāratiya Mūrti Kalā*, Hindi, Vikrama year 2001, Banaras, p. 102; *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, XIII, Calcutta, pp. 70-1; my paper in *The Brahma Vidyā* (*The Adyar Library Bulletin*), XVIII, nos. 3-4, p. 257, f. n. 2.

87. For Sun-worship at Nandsor (during this period), consult *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, XVI, 1948, pp. 78-9; J. Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* III, Calcutta, p. 81.

B. Gupta Coinage

(i) It was at Bayānā (Bharatpur) that a very important hoard of the Gupta gold coins (put inside a spouted vase) was brought to light a few years back. It has added a lot to our existing knowledge of the Gupta currency, both in Rājasthāna and India.⁸⁸

(ii) Coins of Chandra Gupta I, Samudra Gupta and Chandra Gupta II from a mound called Būndwālī Dūngarī, near village Moroli in the Jaipur division.⁸⁹

(iii) A unique gold coin of the Battle-Axe Type of Samudra Gupta existed in the Jaipur treasury. It is to be noted that the boy attendant on the obverse of this coin figures on the right and not on the left. Similarly another coin of the Jaipur Treasury depicts Chandra Gupta II wearing a close-fitting cap—a unique feature of the Archer type⁹⁰ of coins.

(iv) The archaeological conservation work at Naliasar-Sambhar brought to light a silver coin (of Kumāra Gupta I) belonging to the Madhyadeśa variety and depicting a fan-tailed peacock. It weighs about 29.8 grains.⁹¹

(v) G. H. Ojha is said to have obtained some 20 gold and 5 silver Gupta coins at Ajmer itself.⁹²

(vi) G. H. Ojha also procured some Gupta coins from Mewāḍa⁹³ (Ojha, op. cit., 0. 327).

C. Political Conditions

(a) It appears from the above account that the number of the Gupta coins procured from Rājputānā area, except the Bayānā hoard, is quite negligible. Nay, not a single Gupta

88. Dr. A. S. Altekar has written an exhaustive memoir on these coins recovered from Bayānā. Consult A. S. Altekar, *Catalogue of the Gupta Gold Coins in the Bayānā Hoard*, 1954, 48 plates. Cf. also *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, VIII (ii) pp. 96-8 and pp. 179-84; *ibid*, XIII (ii), pp. 1802-2; *ibid*, XIII (i), pp. 12-3 and p. 105, f. n. 1.

89. *Bairat* pp., 10-11.

90. These coins have been described by Prayag Dayal in *The Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, VII, 1954, p. 48.

91. *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, XXII (ii), 1950, pp. 54-6, plate I. 9.

92. G. H. Ojha, *History of Rājputānā*, Hindi I, 1927, 124.

93. Cf. S. P. Śrīvāstava, *Rājasthāna and its Traditions*, 1951, Jaipur, p. 32.

coin has so far been reported from the Jodhpur and the Bikaner divisions of the existing State of Rājasthāna. The same can also be said of some ancient sites as Nagari, Rairh and Nagar; the latter two being the strong-holds of the Warrior Mālavas. *It is very likely that the penetration of the Imperial Gupta rulers in Rājaputānā, was perhaps checked by Local chiefs and the warrior republican tribes such as the Mālavas, the Yaudheyas, the Arjunāyanas*⁹⁴ etc. The well-known Allahabad Inscription of Samudra Gupta informs us that these tribal states of Rājputāna owed nominal allegiance to Samudra Gupta but were masters of their respective localities at the same time.⁹⁵ The Yaudheyas were living in the Bijayagarh region of Bharatpur and in the Bikaner⁹⁶ and Johiyāwar regions.

The *Sabhāparva* (chapter 32. verses 4-5) of the *Mahābhārata* enumerates the *Maru* and the *Bahudhānyaka* countries together.⁹⁷ The latter indicates the Hariyāṇā region (i.e., Hissar and Roh-tāka) while the former refers to the desert area of Rājputānā. The phrase *Maru*, here, appears to have denoted the Bikaner region—the land of the Yaudheyas (who had their capital seat in the *Bahudhānyaka*⁹⁸ region). Nor a single Yaudheya coin has so far been recovered from the Jodhpur and the Jaisalmera regions⁹⁹ and hence it does not seem to be plausible to

94. It is regretted that we have so far found no coins (of these people) issued during the post-Kuṣāṇa period; Cf. *NHIP*, p. 31.

95. *Mālavarjunāyana-Yaudheya.....ādibhiḥśca sarva-karadānājnākarāṇa prāṇāmāgamana—paritoṣita pracāṇḍa-śāsanasya* (D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, I, 1942, p. 258, lines 22-3 of the epigraph under review.

96. Yaudheya coins have also been found in the Bikaner region and some pieces have been preserved in the G. G. J. Museum at Bikaner. The excavations at Sambhar too yielded some Yaudheya coins (Cf. *Sambhar*, pp. 34, 36, 39, 41, 48 etc.). Cf. *Journal of the U. P. Historical Society*, XXIII, pp. ff. 171.

97. *Maru-bhūmi-sakātsrayeṇa tathaiṇa Bahudhānyakam*, verse 5.

98. D. R. Sahni (*Sambhar*, p. 48) is of the opinion that the Yaudheya coins had come to Sambhar from Rohataka. This view seems to carry some weight for the Jaipur region was not associated with the Yaudheyas in any way.

99. It is not possible, at the present moment, to determine the political conditions of the regions of Jodhpur, Jaisalmer and Sirohi during the period under survey. It is equally a mystery that no *Yūpa* inscriptions have so far been reported from this region. Does it indicate that the Western part of Rājputānā had absolutely no leanings towards the Vedic sacrifices? Future discoveries are badly awaited to throw more light on this problem.

identify *Maru*, (in this case) with the desert area of Mārwar. The Yaudheyas were the ardent denotes of Skanda-Kārttikeya—son of Lord Śiva.

(b) *Hūṇa Menace*

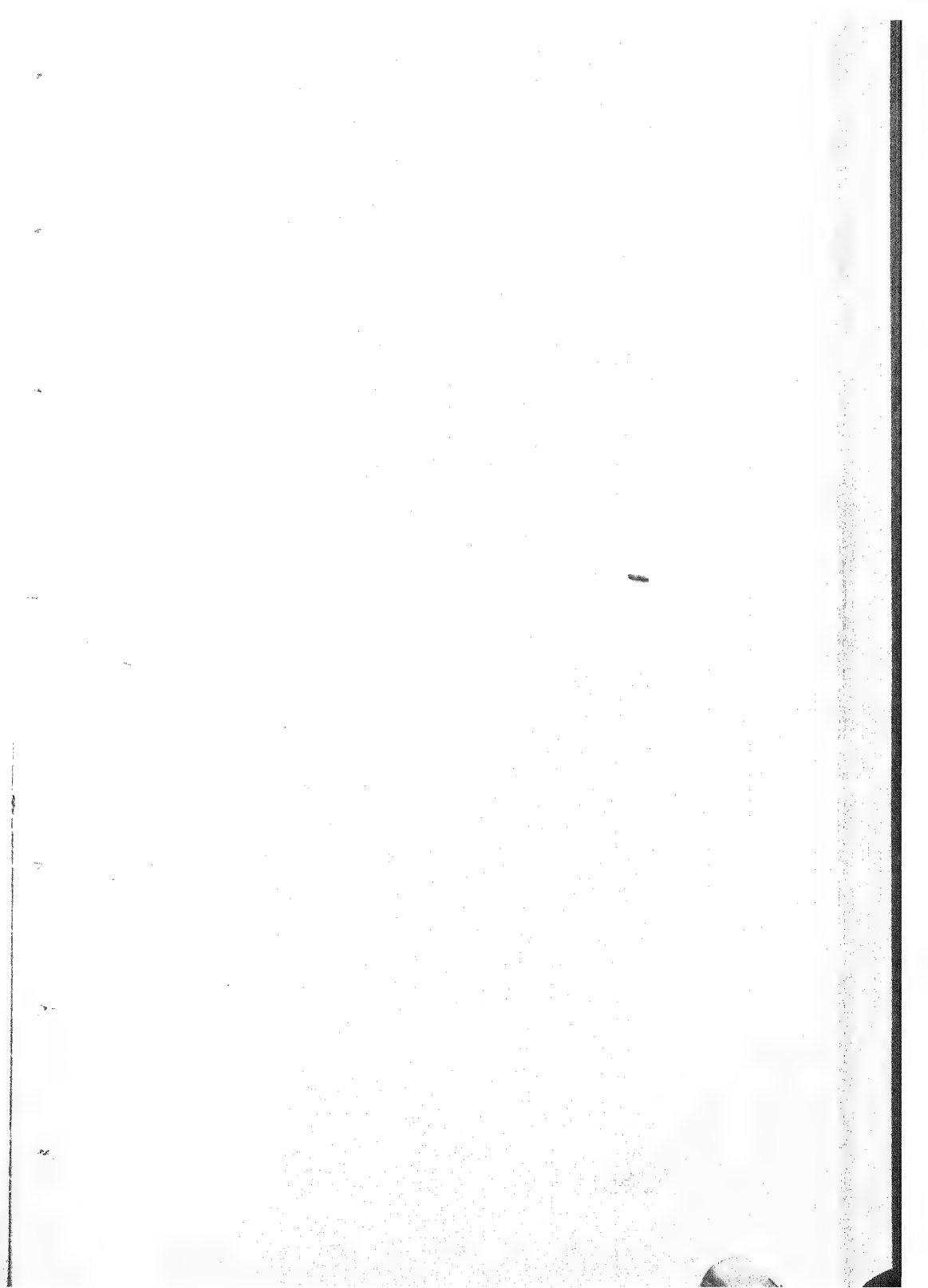
It was at Bairat that Mr. Sahni recovered thousands of broken pieces of the Aśokan stone pillars. This led him to suggest, of course quite tentatively, that "this was the work of the white Hūṇa Mihirakula in the beginning of the 6th century A.D." (Bairat, pp. 28 and 39). Similarly, Dr. H. Goetz (*The Art and Architecture of the Bikaner State*, p. 58) also suggests that the ancient Gupta shrines, in the region of Raṅgamahal, Baḍopola, Pirasultana...etc., were probably destroyed in the Hūṇa-Gurjar invasion.

An ancient stone pillar (Kotah region) depicts the name of Dhruvaswāmī as having been carved on it in the script of the latter Gupta period. This led Dr. M. L. Sharma (*Koṭāh Rājya Kā Itihāsa*, Hindī, I, p. 35) to state that this Dhruvaswāmī was some reputed warrior and fell fighting when face to face with the Hūṇa army.

It is very likely that the ancient structures at Bairait, Bikaner.....etc., were demolished during the invasion of the Hūṇas in India. The impact of the Hūṇas¹⁰⁰ was of course very lasting and effective in Rājputāna. G. H. Ojha (*History of Rājputānā*, I, Hindī, 1927, p. 55) is of the opinion that Toramāṇa was the first Hūṇa chief to subjugate Mālwa, Rājputāna etc., and that the Hūṇa power began to decline during the regime of his son Mihirakula. He also states that "it is very likely that after the defeat of Mihirakula (at the hands of Yaśodharman) some territory of the above regions might have remained under the sway of the Hūṇas and that the local petty-chiefs might have accepted their domination. This hypothesis has been based on the simple fact that a tenth century A.D. epigraph

100. For the close association of the Hūṇas with the regions of Madhya-Bhārat and Madhya Pradeśa, consult *The Classical Age*, 1954, pp. 35 and 39. D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 386-402.

from Āhāḍa near Udaipur) refers to the Hūṇa lineage of Hariyadevī who was the queen of Allatṭa—the Guhila monarch of Mewār:—*abhudyasyābhavattasyām tanayaḥ Śrī-madallatṭaḥ sa bhūpatiḥ (priyā) yasya Hūṇa-kṣoniśavaṃśajā. Hariyadevī yaśo yasyā bhāti Harṣapurāhvyam* (Cf. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 191)."





A Figure of Nairātmā

A FIGURE OF NAIRĀTMĀ

By

Hari Kishore Prasad, M. A.,

Among the collections of the stone images in the Patna Museum, there is a fine female figure¹ from Rājgir (Bihar) which is still lying un-identified and hence not yet brought to the notice of scholars. The image is made of Basalt (dark-grey) stone and is 18½" inches in height. Stylistically and on the basis of material, the image appears to belong to the Pāla period. The figure is standing in an *Āliḍha* attitude and is trampling over two human figures, one under each foot. The goddess has got two hands, the right one holds a *knife* and the left carries a broken small *Kapāla* (?) and a *khaṭvāṅga* (a rod like thing) is also hanging from her left hand. She is wearing a garland which is most probably a garland of severed heads but this, however, is not fully clear. She is also adorned with ornaments. The figure as a whole presents a very dreadful appearance. Her three eyes are shown in a very awe-inspiring manner. The stele of the figure is decorated with flames of fire rising upwards. Most probably these flames radiate from her body and this adds to the dreadful nature of the goddess. At the top of the stele is a figure of Buddha. The above description of the image corresponds almost accurately to the description of the goddess *Nairātmā*, as given in the *Sādhana-mālā*. The original text in the *Sādhana-mālā*² where the description of the figure of *Nairātmā* occurs is quoted herewith:—

शवहृच्चन्द्रस्यार्द्धपर्यङ्कनाट्यस्थितां नैरात्मां कृष्णां एक मुखां उदं पिङ्गलकेशां
अक्षोभ्यमुकुटिनीं दंष्ट्राकराललज्जिह्वां दक्षिणेन कत्रिधारिणीं वामे कपाल-
खट्वाङ्गधारिणीं रक्तवर्तुलत्रिनेत्रां पञ्चमुद्राविभूषणाम् ।

Here, almost every detail of the goddess agrees with the

1. Arch. No. 10540.

2. Vol. II, p. 451.

present figure, but a slight variation, however, is also noticed in it. That the goddess in the figure is shewn in an *Ālīḍha* attitude, where as according to the text given above she should have been in the *Ardhaparyāṅka* attitude with a dancing pose. Secondly that there is no figure of *Dhyānī Buddha* on the head of the present figure where as according to the text, there should have been the figure of *Akshobhya Buddha* on the crest. Now, so far the first difference is concerned, that may be due to the regional influence. But so far the second point of difference is concerned, it may be pointed out that though according to Sacred Texts every figure of *Bodhisattva* or of Buddhist goddess should be represented with any one of the five *Dhyānī Buddha* on the head, this, however, unfortunately, is not always found. There are many such figures of *Bodhisattva* or of Buddhist goddess where we do not see any image of *Dhyānī Buddha* on the crest. So the present figure may also be an exception to that rule. Moreover, an image of *Nairātmā* is also published in the '*Sādhana-mālā*'¹ which is very similar in features to the present figure under discussion. Hence in all probability, the present figure may be that of the goddess *Nairātmā*.

1. Vol. II, page, C.L.XIX, plate XV.

REFERENCE TO SĀTAVĀHANA COINAGE IN GĀTHĀ SAPTAŚATI

By

S. V. Sohoni

The Gāthā Saptaśati is the most ancient collection of verses in Mahārāshtri Prākṛit. This anthology was compiled under the active encouragement of Hāla Sātavāhana.¹ There is reason to believe that the Saptaśati was revised from time to time and Weber² has analysed as many as seven recensions, only 430 out of 700 stanzas being common to all texts. However, one may safely say with Shri K. Gopālachāri,³ "There is no doubt that its kernel dates from the 1st or 2nd century A. D. and that it shows the previous existence of a considerable body of lyrical literature in Mahārāshtri Prākṛit."

King Hāla was a patron of Prākṛit literature and supported many poets at his court.⁴ To a student of old Indian coins, a reference to a Sātavāhana of Pratisthāna made by Merutunga,⁵ in his Prabandha Chintāmani, about that king having bought four Gāthās for forty million gold pieces and having then compiled one volume styled a "kośa", would be of some interest. There is, of course, other evidence⁶ that the Saptaśati was called a Kośa—

1. Abhinanda's : Rāmacarita VI. 93; XXII, 100.
Indra Suri's : Kuvalayamālā quoted by Dalal in his edition of the Kāvya-mīmāṃsā at p. 12.
2. Soddhala : Udaya Sundari p. 2.
3. Weber : Das Saptasatakam Das Hāla p. xxviii.
Indische Studien Vol. xvi p. 9.
4. Early History of the Āndhra Country p. 42.
5. MMP VV Mirashi : Bhāratiya Vidyā X p. 43.
Siddha Bhārati p. 4.

5. Sindhi Jain Grantha Mālā Vol. I, p. 10. स श्री सातवाहन स्त पूर्वभव
वृत्तान्तं जाति स्मृत्या साक्षात्कृत्य ततः प्रभृति दानवर्ममाराधयन् सर्वेषां
महाकवीनां विदुषां च संग्रहपरः चतसृभिः स्वर्णकोटीभिर्गाथा चतुष्टयं क्रीत्वा
सप्तशतीगाथा प्रमाणं सातवाहनाभिचानं संग्रहागाथा कोशं शास्त्रं निर्माप्य
नानावदातनिधिः सुचिरं राज्यं चकार ।"

6. Vide the concluding verse in the Satakas; and the well known eulogy of these verses by Bāna and Indra Suri.

not only in the main text itself but also in references which are older than the Prabandha Chintāmani.

It was, accordingly, but appropriate that a "kośa" like the Gāthāsaptasati should contain a verse given below in its Sanskrit chchāyā, which is of direct numismatic interest.

वातोद्धतसिचयविभावितोरु दृष्टेन दन्तभार्गेण ।

वधूमातातोष्यते निधान कलशस्येव मुखेन ॥

This stanza is no. 507⁷ of the Nirnayasāgara (Kavyamālā) text. Its author was not specifically named anywhere. It could, as will be presently seen, be safely assumed, on numismatic grounds, to be one of the verses in the original collection.

It deals with a 'nidhānakalasa'⁸—and I venture to submit that its main suggestion is based on the early Sātavāhana coinage about which Rapson had observed in his Catalogue of Coins of the Āndhras and Western Kshatrapas, as follows:—

"But underlying all this variety there are to be recognised certain constantly recurring types, such as the 'Caitya' and the 'Ujjain symbol' which may almost be regarded as permanent features in the coinage of the Āndhra Empire" (§ 139).

He has further remarked, "The 'Caitya' and 'Ujjain' symbols are found in association as respectively the obv. and rev. types used by Gautamiputra in the Nāsik District and also on the coins of Āndhradeśa during the reigns from Pulumāvi to Śeri Yājña certainly, and possibly to Sri Rudra" (§ 140). One may note that Hāla is no. 17 and Pulumāvi, no. 15, in the Purānic lists of Sātavāhana kings.

Some significant details deserve attention. A 'kalasa mukha' is, necessarily, *circular* in appearance. Secondly, the impressions caused by teeth can easily be recognised to resemble the characteristic⁹ Sātavāhana moon and the hill coin or (what is less

7. Cf. Kālidāsa in Kumāra Sambhavam VIII 12 and 87. I have shown separately (B.R.S. Vol. XLI Part 2, 1955) that Kālidāsa consciously improved on the Gāthā Saptasati materials.

8. Cf. Gāthāsaptasati VI. 75 for another reference to 'nidhāna kalasa' and VI. 76 for "nidhi kalasa", among others; and IV. 73 for 'Utkhatani-dhāna'.

9. Rapson : Pages clxvi-clxvii.

probable) the legends in the Brāhmi script. It is clear that no reference is intended to any depiction of either a lion or an elephant. The "danta¹⁰ mārga" may be said to resemble the moon and the hill or the caitya cion device. This allusion helps to locate the age of the verse. Thirdly, a "nidhānakalasa" involves buried treasure which also is more likely to contain older coins. As coins i.e. metallic pieces were buried, it does not appear that they were first wrapped in cloth and then put in the pot. That is why on being exposed, a 'nidhānakalsa' directly showed its cions, which had no cover.

It further, implies conscious hiding of wealth in coins; and even seems to indicate a common practice of adoption of such a safety measure. It is these 'nidhānakalasa's whose discovery, from time to time, has enlivened the annals of Indian numismatics.

As distinguished from such buried treasure in the "nidhānakalasa," there is in the Harsa Charitra,¹¹ a detailed reference to 'Kośakalasa' which, it is stated, even carried a label containing a numerical description of its contents.¹²

I will not discuss here any other aspect of this stanza excepting that it obviously assumes a 'Sakaccha' style of putting on a saree; and that the word 'sicaya'¹³ has a R̥gvedic origin and means not a new but a washed piece of cloth. I would add that red or earth coloured or green sarees are common wear in the Deccan country side.

10. This subject is fully dealt with in Vātsyāyana's Kāma Sūtras.

11. Cf. वासुदेवशरण अग्रवाल: "हर्षचरित-एक सांस्कृतिक अध्ययन" p. 178

12. 'ससंख्या लेखपत्र'

13. Dr. Motichand : प्राचीनवेषभूषा p. 16 quoting R̥g Veda 7-33-1 on 'सियक'.

THARU SONGS

By

S. V. Sohoni

The Tharus of North Champaran, along the Nepal Tarai, speak a variety of Bhojpuri.

The District Gazetteer of Champaran has described the Tharus in the following terms:—

“The Tharus are an aboriginal tribe who live in the submontane Terai in the north of the district. They are nearly all in the Bagaha and Shikarpur thanas in scattered clearings in or near the jungles. Many of them came into the district from the north and east after the rise of the Bettiah Raj, and the absorption of the petty zamindars. Their origin is not known but it seems probable that they are a Dravidian race whose ancestors formerly ruled in the valley of the Ganges and were gradually driven up into sub-Himalayan areas. Like other inhabitants of villages on the Nepal border, their features sometimes have a slightly Mongolian cast but not to any marked extent. It seems possible that they are the people mentioned by Alberuni in 1030 as living in Tilwat a country bordering on Nepal the inhabitants of which were called “Taru a people of very black colour and flat-nosed like the Turhas.”

“They live in grass-thatched houses, using timber instead of bamboos. They are mainly agriculturists and each village keeps very large herds of cattle and buffaloes, the former for breeding bullocks and the latter for milk. They trade in young cattle, young buffaloes and ghee, and work as carters and timber fellers. They rent land very cheaply from the Bettiah Estate and most of them have very large holdings.”

These songs of the Tharus were collected through the agency of the personal of the Gaunaha Community Project. The Tharu customs and village life can lead to an interesting anthropological study. Looked at from any point of view, they

indicate to what extent, a rural community isolated by forest and river, discovers healthy entertainment through song, without being weighed down by man made burden.

थारु ग्रामीण लोक-गीत

(१)

उमड़ी असाढ घेरी आवे बदला, बिजली चमके ओही घन में,
चेहूँकी घनियां, उर चीत में, बैठी के सोंचकरे मन में,
जबसे तेजी गये बेनी माधव, विरहा के आगी लगे मन तन में ॥

सावन साल घन मास किन्हा, प्रीति किये एही कुंवरो से।
बिन नन्द लाल परन कैसे राखव, धीरज के जिया नहीं जग में।
जब से तेजी गये बेनी माधव, विरहा के आगी लगे तन मन में।

भादव ही भर भवर नाहीं सुझे दादुर बोले एही आँगन में।

आसीन मास पुनः आवे पतिओ न भेजे वही मधुवन से,
सूर श्याम खोजी न मिलावे, यही वन में, नहीं तो प्राण हतू छण में।
जब से तेजी गये बृन्दा वन में, विरहा के आगी लगे तन मन में।

(२)

एक रूपया मलहा एवा-खेवा चार रूपया इनाम देव भईया मोसाफीर हो।

ले चल न झीनमापुर के घाट भईया मलहवा हो।

नाहीं लेवो एवा, खेवा नाही लेवो चार, भईया मोसाफीर हो।

लेवो में नईया मढाई भईया मोसाफीर हो।

ले चलवो झीनमापुर के घाट। भईया मोसाफीर हो।

नामोरा रूपया पैसा ना मोर चाउर मलहवा हो,

ले चल झीनापुर के घाट, भईया मोसाफीर हो।

दे दोना धानमा भराय, भईया मोसाफीर हो, ले चल झीनापुर के घाट।

(३)

सावन भादो ओ केरा रतिया हे रतिया हे लागल डेरावन।

दादुरा बोलल हे सखिया धान केरा हे खेत।

सारे दिनमा मोर बीतले धानमा रोपइते हे आज।

केचूआ बैइठल हे सखिया धनमा केरा हे खेत।

कठा रोपली हे धूर हे रोपली बीगहा हे धान।

देखलक गृस्थवा देलक गरिया हे चार ।

साझ भयल हो गृस्थवा देहो न छीटा भर धान ।

सावन भदइआ केरा रतिया हे रतिया रोवत होत बलका हमार ।

पुत्र जन्म के बाद

बरही के रोज

नीपलू अगनयाँ की नीपलू कोठरिया, नीपलू ना ननद बीचे दूरवा की नीपलू ना ।

होइ हे बलकवा तो माँगबू झूलनियाँ तो न देवो ना ।

ननद नाक के झूलनियाँ, बोलाय लेवो ना ननद अपना वहीनी ना ।

जब तोहे हे भौजो वहीनी बोलाइवू की चोराय लेवो ना भौजो नाक के झूलनियाँ ।

जब तोहे हे ननद झूलनी चोराइवू की तोहरा के भेजव संझ्याँ घर तोहरा के ।

सब गहना लगा कर गाना यह गाया जाता है ।

: २ :

झमकी में चाढल वा अटरिया झरोखे नजर लागल वा हो ललना,

आज मोरा बाबा घर सोहर, दुअरपर सहनईया वाजे हो ।

नाई आइल वा लेतहर नाही मोरा भाई अइलन हो ललना

जायबई में नइहरवा तो भौउजी के गोद में बलकवा-बलकवा चुमायव हे ।

झागी लेवई, टोपी लेवई हे, लेवई में हाथ के धुंधरूआ, बधइया लेके चल आएव हो ।

माया बैठल तोहे सासू मोरा हे सासूर हे, रंगी देहो भौजी के पीरिया हो जायव

नैहर हम हे ।

मचीया बैठल मोरी माई रे माई देही देही नाक के झूलनिया बधईया हम लेवे

आइली हे ।

भौउजी सुमिनियँ देलहो नाही पार लागस हे, काहे के आइली नइहर हो नेहो नाही

मिलल हे ।

हसइते जाले ननदोइया, तो ठुनुकईते भगिना मोरा हे ललना, रोवइते जाली

ननदिया तो अबमग टुटल हे ।

: ३ :

एक मास बीतल, दुई मास बीतल हे, ललना बीतले में नौवे मास

तो जाइव नइहरवा हो, सासू मोर गेले वनिहरवा तो ननद,

ससूर घर हे, ललना गोतीनी रहल रहल रिसीआई तो जायव नइहर हम हे ।

आधी रात अगली अन्धरिया, तो मोर भिनसरवा हे ललना वाजई लागल आनन्द

वधावा हो,

जन्म लेल हे एहो वृज मोहन हे, ललना सुनी हे में ननद तो दौड़ल चली अइहन हे ।
 सासू के देवई कौदउ भात हे ललना ननद के देवई अरवा भात हे, उनी गोतनी देवई
 बसमति या भात जीनी गोतनी पँचा लेवो हे । सासू के देवई, सालू साड़ी हे ननद के,
 मोटकी साड़ी हे ललना गोतनी के देवई पाड़दार साड़ी उनी गोतनी पइँच लेवो हे ।

बरसाती

: १ :

अरे पढली ओ सुगवा हो राजा उड़ई बीजू वनमा रे की ।
 अरे मोरो पीया छूटई बीजू वन में रे की ।
 अरे आधीरात अगली हो राजा, पहर रात पछली हो राजा,
 अइलई घटा घेरी रोकी, अरे नाही अइलई भइया तोहार,
 एक नीद सूतली हो राजा, दूई नीद सूतली रेकी,
 अरे जयस लागई सईयाँ हे हमार खोले धानी खोले हे धानी, झूनकी के मड़ीयारे की,
 अरे बूंदीया भीगलई हे मोरे ऐहो पगीआरे की ।
 कैसे हमें खोलिए हो राजा, मोर गोद बलका तोहार रे की ।
 अरे कहाँ तोहे रहल हो राजा एहो नीसी रतिया रे की ।
 अरे जूअवा खेलइते हे धानी बीतल एहो रतिया रे की ।
 अरे बलका सूतई हे धानी रंगली खटोला रे की ।
 उठी खोलू हे धानी ऐहो नीस रतिया रे की ।
 अरे हमरा मिलनमा हे धानी घड़ी रे पहरिया रे की,
 अरे बलका जे हुउहे धानी गोदीके खेलउता रे की ।

: २ :

सावन, भदई केरा, रतीया हे रतीया लागल हे डेरावन,
 सईया मोरा गेलई हे, नरकटीया हे वजरिया लाबय लागी हे सेंदूर,
 रंधलूं में रंधलूं हे सखीया पोठरी हे मछरिया ।
 सइया वीनू हे सखिया झोरवो न लागए हे नीक ।
 सासू मोर गारी देलक, ननदी लेलक झीकाझोर, देवरा मोरा पूछई सईयाकेरा
 वात, एक ही कंथ हे । सखीयाँ, दुनिया हे अंधार, केकरा पर करव हे सखीया
 सोलहो हे सीगार, पूरुख वीनू हे अंधार ।

: ३ :

चित्र नक्षत्र घेरल बादल चारो ओर बरसए मेघ हे । मेघ हे ।
 उत्तर बरसय, पच्छीम बरसलवा बरसलवा चारो ओर हे ।

ससूरा रहतिया तो धनमा रोपयता देखत चारो ओर वाट हे ।
 एही समया वाटे धान रोपके । काटे के अगहन मास हे ।
 हम अभागिनी रहली नैहर लोभाई हे । कंत मोरा गैले बंगाल हे, अइहें तो दिहें
 नीकाल हे । संग में लइहन सौतीन हमार हे ।
 उनका के रखीहन नैना लगाई हे ।

कन्या विवाह

: १ :

बाबा के दुआरे पर चनना के गछीआ रनेवने चतरल डाढ हे ।
 ताही तर ठाढ भेली बेटी हे सिता बेटी बाबूजी अरज हमार हे ।
 जेकरा घर कुमार बेटी बाबा से कैसे सुतई निचेत हे ।
 पुरूब खोजली गे बेटी पछीम खोजली खोजली उड़ीसा जगरनाथ हे ।
 तोहरा जुगुत बेटी वरो नहीं भेटल अब तुहु रहल कुमार हे ।
 वर एक भेटल नगरी से नगरी.....धीया योग भेल समतुल हे ।
 भल कएलन बाबा से अपन बाबा कारी कुचील ही जमाय हे ।
 कारी कुचील जानु बोल हे बेटी कारी वा श्रीभगवान् हे ।
 कारी कुची के चनन भल सोभय कारी श्री भगवान हे ।
 जइसन भीख तुहु देलुहे सिता बेटी तइसन कंत तोहार हे ।
 कोदो मड़उआ बाबा हाथ हूं न छुइली कइली वासमती चाउर दान हे ।

: २ :

बाबा के दुलारी बेटी हे शान्ति बेटी माझे सड़क भेली ठार हे ।
 कीरीन के जोते मारा लागल हो बाबा गोर बदन कुम्हलाय हे ।
 कहीती बेटी गे तमुआ तनउती कहत तो चदरी तनाऊँ हे ।
 कहीत तो बेटी हे सूर्य अलोपती मेघवा के चदर तनाय हे ।
 काथी लागी आहो बाबा तमुआ तमुआ तनएव काथी लागी चादर तनाएव
 काथी लागी आहो बाबा सूर्य आलोपव हमहू जायव सुन्दर वर साथ हे ।
 कचोरे कटोरे गे बेटी दूध पीवलों बेटा जाकित कएलूं दुलार हे ।
 दुधवा के नीकुतिया ना देल बेटी चलल सुन्दर वर के सार्थ हे ।

: ३ :

कहमही बोलले कारी रे कोयलिया कहमा ही बोलले मयूर हे ।
 आहो आज जनकपुर में सखी सब बोलले अब सीता विवाहन योग हे ।
 जाई बाबा हें नगर अयोध्या उहाँ वसु दशरथ राज हे ।

हुनी राजा दसरथ के चारी ओ पुत्र चारी राजकुमार हे ।
 आहे चारो भइया में एक भइया सावर हे उनका के तीलक धराई हे ।
 आहे हमें कैसे तीलक चढाई गे बेटी हुनी बावन वीर हे ।
 बालक देखी जानू भूल हो बाबा हुनी हथी राजकुमार हे ।
 पान सुपारी गे बेटी तीलक चढाएव तुलसी के पात दहेज हे ।
 अपना जुगुती हो बाबा समधी खोजव, पंच लायक बरीयात हे ।
 हमरा लाय सुन्दर वर हो बाबा, भोगव अयोध्या के राज हे ।

: ४ :

बाबा के दुआर पर सुरसर नदीआ सुरसर बहले निजो धार हे ।
 ताहो पइसी बाबा मोर पैर पखारले भेल धर्म करे वर हे ।
 पैर पखारी हो बाबा भरउआ चढ़ी बैठ जांघी लेली धिया बंठाई हे ।
 कौन गहनवा हो बाबा अनहुती लागल, कौन गहन वे ने माड़ावा हे ।
 कौन गहनवे हो बाबा भरउवइठव, सूर्य गहवे गे बेटी अनगुती लागल,
 चन्द गहनवे सांझ वरे हे ।
 धीया के गहनवे बेटी मड़ावा ना सोभय मड़ावा चढ़ी बैठव, हियलाय होत
 अगरास से ।
 केहेवीनु आहो बाबा मड़वो ना सोभय, काहे वीनू आहो बाबा जग अंधियारा,
 काहे वीनू धर्मो न होय हो, वीस वीनू अगे बेटी मड़वो ना सोभय, पुत्र वीनू जग
 अंधियारा-धीया वीनू धर्मो न होय हो ।

: ५ :

आहे सीआ जुगुत बाबा वर एक खोजन हँसे न जनकपुर के लोग हे ।
 अपना योगे बेटी समधी खोजली पंच जुगुत बरीआत हे ।
 आहे तोहरा जुगुत बेटी वर एक खोजली कल जोरी रहली हुजुर हे ।
 सिंह दरवाजे बाबा उची के छवइह, ठाढे हथीआ समाय हे ।
 सिंह दरवजवा गे बेटी उचीक छवइली ठाढे हथीआ समाय हे ।
 अयोध्या नगर से अएले वरात राजा दसरथ सभी आएलन, रामचन्द्र दुलहा हे,
 सेही देखी जनकपुर लोग हे ।

: ६ :

हे आजु चुमावन सीआ रघुवर के नाउन फीरित हकार रमा हे ।
 अपटन तेल फुलेल अगर जनुजुमए अतर समान रमा हे ।

कंचन थार आरती सम्हारे सत फुल नारी रमा हे ।
 बइठल बा मड़ुआ में रघुवर रामजी सखी सब पढ़य गारी रमा हे ।
 हमरा सीआजी सब गुण आगर विधी न लीखल सब सार हे ।
 फुंहर तोहर माई कौशल्या सुदीन कइलन छठीहार हे ।
 लपकी सखी सीर मटुका उतारू झुलफी में मलतू फुलेल हे ।
 होत कुलाहल जनकपुर भवन में रघुवर मागत दहेज हे ।
 अपना महल से बोल ले सुनैना आजु बड़ा भाग हमार हे ।
 कोई जोगिनियां जनी नजरी लगावहु सासु के डोलत करेजा हे ।
 जाही दिन रामजी अवध में जन्म लेल सफल कौशल्या के भाग्य हे ।
 घन्य जानकी जन्म लेलन पुरले जनकपुर के आस हे ।

झुमरा : मड़ुवा पर का

: १ :

मोरा अंगनइया में बेला की बहार वा ।
 बेला भी फूले चमेली भी फूले ।
 सब फुलवनवा में राजा गुलाब वा ।
 मोरा अंगनइया में बेला की बहार वा ।
 तवला भी बाजे सारंगी भी बाजे ।
 सब बाजन में नामी सितार वा ।
 मोरा अंगनइया में बेला की बहार वा ।
 जूही भी फूले चम्पा भी फूले ।
 सब फूलन में राजा गुलाब वा ।
 मोरा अंगनइया में बेला की बहार वा ।
 डिपटी भी बैठे कलकटर भी बैठे ।
 सब से सुन्दर सैयाँ हमार वा ।
 मोरा अंगनइया में बेला की बहार वा ।

: २ :: फूटकर:

बने बने गइया चराबेले कह्या ।
 घरे घरे जोड़ले पिरीति ।
 उनका बसुरिया सान माहीं अएले ।
 आखीर तो जाति अहह हीर ।

: ३ :

रसवा के भेजलीं भंवरवां के संगिये ।

रसवा ले अइले हो चोर ।

अतनाही रसवा में केकरा के बटवो ।

सगरी नगर हितमोर ।

: ४ :

पिया पिया कहत पियर भइली देहिया ।

लोगवा कहिला पिडरोग ।

गडवा के लोगवा मरमियों न जानलें ।

भइल गवनवां न मोर ।

: ५ :

बहे पूरवइया चमेली बन जाऊँ, बेली बन जाऊँ चमेली बन जाऊँ,

रात अंधेरी नैयहर चली जाऊँ ।

सासू जागे ननद जागे, जागेल छोटका देवरवा, नैहर कैसे जाऊँ

माथ दुखल, आँख फूटल, फटले कलेजवा हमार, नैहर कैसे जाऊँ

रात अंधेरी नैहर कैसे जाऊँ ।

CORRESPONDENCE AMONG THE ORGANISERS OF THE ANTI-BRITISH PLOT OF 1857 IN BIHAR.

By

Jata Shankar Jha.

In the middle of the year 1857, and prior to the general outbreak in Bihar, a very "extensive and dangerous" anti-British plot was discovered by the authorities in Patna. Many letters, along with other properties, were seized in the houses of the chief organisers, namely Peer Ali Khan and Waris Ali. Peer Ali was a book-seller from Lucknow and had come to reside in Patna only a few years before the outbreak. Waris Ali was a Police Jamadar at Muzafferpur and was supposed to be related to the king of Delhi.

The letters below (quoted in extenso) have been arranged according to their respective custodies prior to their seizure. This will show that letters found in the possession of Waris Ali are all from Ali Kareem, while those in Peer Ali's are mostly from Museeh-us-Zamun, a Lucknow book-seller. These are contemporary letters, having been written for the same purpose of overthrowing the established government. But the writers of these worked for a long time separately and as distinct groups without being known to each other. The letter of Musseeh-us-Zamun to Peer Ali in which he asks the latter to contact Ali Kareem bears this fact.¹

Another point to be noted is the time and place as indicated from these letters. This will help in understanding the nature and extent of the plot. Thus from a letter of Reasut Ali, dated

1. Efforts to effect a Collaboration among the various parties at Patna appear to have been successful to some extent. According to the statement of Imam-ooddeen, an associate of Peer Ali Khan, who had been severely wounded in the engagement of the 3rd July 1857, Ali Kareem, the leader of the Second Party, gave two thousand rupees (which was made over by Munsiff Amjud Ali) to Peer Ali Khan and promised to keep 300 persons ready on the day of rising.

Calcutta, the 23rd December, 1856, we learn that towards the close of the year 1856 Peer Ali and Musseeh-us-Zamun had gone to Lucknow (from Cawnpore) where "a great religious war had taken place." This was the year in which Oudh had been annexed to the British territory. The king of Oudh while returning from Calcutta had halted at Patna and granted several interviews to Maulvi Mehdee, the Kotegusht or Patrol Darogah of Patna, and others, which subsequently became the ground for the imprisonment of the Darogah by Mr. W. Taylor, the Commissioner of Patna. Nana Saheb who had lost all hopes by 1853 of getting the family pension from government paid visits to Delhi and Kalpi, and on the 18th April 1857 he proceeded to Lucknow from where he returned under suspicious circumstances. Though there is no specific mention of any collaboration among these people, these are no doubt strange coincidences. Besides, Bithoor (where the Nana was living) was only at a distance of twelve miles from Cawnpore, the residence of some of the associates of Peer Ali who had come over to Patna with a secret mission. Peer Ali himself went to Lucknow with a view to participating in "a great religious war." The Government was not aware of the existence of any such war against them. Naturally this war must have been a secret campaign against Government. And when it is known that Nana Saheb also went there a few months after Peer Ali and returned under suspicious circumstances it is not improbable that he might have contacted with the organisers of the plot and studied the situation on the spot.

The third point to which attention is to be paid is the relation between the organisers of the plot and the sepoys at different military stations. Although an exact idea about their relation cannot be formed from a study of these letters yet sepoys enquiry from Peer Ali about Musseeh-us-Zamun's welfare and whereabouts is significant and suggestive.

On more point: Letters of Ali Karcem are not very clear particularly when he is writing about the intended plot. It is described in metaphorical language—sometime as "Pilau of his imagination" and sometime as "a trade". But a careful

study of these letters leaves no doubt in mind that by the middle of 1857 the plan had matured and only a day for its execution was to be fixed.¹

1. *From Reasut Aly at Calcutta.*

To Yoo-soof Aly at Patna.

Dated 12th Rubee Ossunee 1272²

(Post Mark 23rd December, 1856)

Your long expected note has come to hand. It is true a great Religious War has taken place at Lucknow, and Peer Aly Khan also has gone there to join in it—I receive daily letter, from which I learn all about Lucknow and the War. At present both Moulvee Musseeh-ooz-Zuman and Peer Aly Khan are at Lucknow, intent on a "Jehad." Let us see what happens. In the month of Jumad-ool-uwul, I shall come to Patna with my brother Bubber Aly. When I reach I shall receive Payments from all. My brother Bubber Aly will be in Calcutta from Moorshedabad in a week. As soon as he is here I shall commence preparation for my journey.

2. *From—Abdoola*

To

Shaikh Mahomed Yoo-soof, Book-Seller, Gorhutta.

Banaras 29th, Mohurrum 1272 or 74.³

I have received your letter—I have not heard anything about Moulvee Musseeh-ooz-Zuman and Peer Aly from the last two months. When I came to know ought of them I shall not fail to write to you so you need not be anxious.

No letter have come from Cawnpore. I have written repeatedly, but have received no answer whatever to any of them.

1. According to Imamoodeen's statement there was a difference of opinion between the sepoys (of Dinapur) and towns people as to the day of rising; the sepoys wishing for Sunday and the townsfolk preferring Friday. And the 3rd July 1857, the day on which they rose was actually Friday.

2. Corresponds to the 22nd. December 1855. As such the Post mark recorded above appears to have been wrongly deciphered.

3. Corresponds to the 11th. October 1855. It cannot be 1274 H. because that would correspond to 1857 A.D., and we know that the letter had been seized in July 1857.

This produces great anxiety in me. I pray to heaven that the Moulvee above named may be crowned with success. Amen. I write this to give you notice. Desire my compts. to Meer Ahmed Saheb and Sheikh Abdool Humeed. If they will lay any commands on me, I shall try all the means in my power not to fail.

3. *From Peer Aly*

To Yoosoof Aly

From Cawnpore dated 25th Safur 1272.¹

I reached Cawnpore on the 10th Safer and saw Buddee-ooz-Zuman; but the Maulvee is not here at present. Business has taken him to Delhi: What that business is, I doubt not, you must have heard from report. At the Maulvee's residence there is no one but a Government Guard: Please Heaven, the Maulvee will relieve (?) very soon, and then I shall send the books (half or remainder) which you have not. Until his return it is impossible to send anything. If you have collected any sum of money after defraying all necessary expences, you will be pleased to send me 25/- for my use. Send me also, the sale Books of Sheikh Khoda Bukhs and Mobeen Oollah all separately, and commencing from the date when I left. Also send me your own accounts as usual. If you have any news from *Khan Sahab* inform me; I shall write all other particulars hereafter. Please answer this soon.

It appears from your letter, that you have not as yet received the Books exchanged from Arrah. Write then if you please to the Hajee to send them soon.

I have heard that Sheikh Abdool Humeed has left Patna for this. If so write to me. I have heard this from Khan Sahib hence I think he may have left.

You be very careful in all your sale and exchange work. You have books in advance and until I send you more, try to dispose of all those which are with you.

Do not think me forgetful; carry out all the work just as I

1. Corresponds to the 6th November, 1855.

did. Whatever I had, I have entrusted them to you. I depend on you and on your experience. If you discharge your duties well, and prudently it will be beneficial to you; but if you prove idle and negligent it will end in your own ruin; because I am not a person as other persons are, I am more like an ignorant and a weak child. You know this well and hence I need not recount it.

Desire my respectful compliments to Mobeenollah, and his brother, Kluw bux and his son Ubdoool Huq, Mear Meer, Meer Ahmed Saheb, and other respectable parties such as Maulvee Waizool Huq Saheb and his mother and to all others whose names would take up volumes.

× × × × × ×

4. In short when compared with other people, I am richer, more powerful and more respectable. I am very glad to hear that you have *met a certain person* for whom you want a letter. My custom is that when I see a man who is perfectly devoted to Religion, I am ready to become his slave. I hope to God, that I shall at last lay down my life at the feet of a man like this. Hence I shall not fail to do all that I can for the man you speak about, but how can I call him? But I wish if you advise me, to write a *Goolame khut* (a letter of respect) to him; but never mind. I have already written to him, so that I may obtain salvation even by means of this. I for my part prefer the joys of Heaven to those of the transitory pleasures of the earth. For these reasons I am extremely desirous of obtaining all the advantages which Religion affords and be considered a martyr for its cause, at the time of my death.

"I am ready to be killed for thee, and for thy love,

Do thou come too and support me."

I shall send a Hoondie of 200. If the person above alluded to, will kindly agree to come, you will pay all his expenses, and bring him to me, showing all care and consideration to him. When you come in this station you should lodge in the Searie and see me only privately and take care that no one may know about your departure from your station and about your arrival here.

5. *Letter from Peer Aly Khan from Cawnpore.*

To Yoosof Aly Khan his agent at Patna.

Dated 2nd. Rubeeoos Sanee 1272¹

(Post Mark 1855)

At present, I and my master Maulvee, together with other youthful Mahomedans, are departing towards that goal of our designs for which we had come. From Lucknow, please Heaven, we shall send you full particulars. I ordered you, ere this to send a Hoondee to me at Cawnpore; but as there is no time for my remaining here, I do not think it is proper to draw any on Cawnpore. You will therefore get one and keep it with you, when I shall require it, I shall send for it. If I am delayed at Lucknow, I shall try and send you something. I am not forgetful of your wishes and desires, you be faithful and zealous in discharging your duties. Tell to every trader at all prices and do not wait for my separate orders.

I have great regards for you.

Impress upon all my friends not to fail to offer up prayers for me at the *Chast* so that I may be firmly embellished and be at length crowned with success over the Nazarenees. Till the present time (i.e. all the while that we have been at Cawnpore) we have always been looking out providing ourselves with all things now that all things have been got we depart for Lucknow.

6. *Post script of a letter from Musseeh-oos-Zuman, dated 3rd Rumzan, to Peer Ali Khan, Book-Seller.*

Maulvee Ali Kureem lives either at Sahibgunge or Patna, and whose banking houses are situated at different places. This I heard from Maulvee Zuman Shah and Maulvee Gholam Ahmed, and was moreover told that the Maulvee (Ali Kureem) was a very respectable, generous, pious, and philanthropic man; for this reason I write to you, that if you know him, you will present a book to him of the value of 25 or 20 Rupees as a gift from me, and you will desire my respectful compliments to him, as I have an affair in hand with him to the following effect.

1. Corresponds to the 12th December 1855.

I am told that in a knowledge of laws and Regulations there is not a second person equal to Ali Kureem. A friend desires a copy of all the Regulations injurious to the Mahomedan religion, etc. for instance those forcing the prisoners to eat, or referring to any enquiry from government about the Corn Factories of all places, or taking away arms from all the people, or those prohibiting circumcision, or any detrimental to the seclusion of women, or ordering the Hindoos to give their widows in marriage, or others like these of a nature which will tend to the extermination of Mohamedanism in future. At any rate, as many as you can procure yourself, will be highly acceptable, or if you cannot obtain all yourself, you will be able to get them through him; and by being known to men like him, there is no doubt that, after a short time, it will be productive of general advantages to us.

And if you are acquainted with any other personages, such as Durveshes or learned men, who too are opposed to all the attempts made on religions, and may consider themselves thereby aggrieved, you will give them books of the value of 5 or 6 Rupees, that they may bless our project for preserving the remnants of our religion; but unless they lay their hands on the Koran, and swear faithfully not to break faith, you will take special care not to break the matter to them.

And if in the family of Maulvee Willayet Ali or Maulvee Muksood Ali, you are on friendly terms with any one who you think is able for our work, you will inform me at once.

I think we should not disagree with any caste, not even with Hindoos, for we should try and get our work done, and in disagreeing, there will arise groundless disputes. For my part, I am on terms with Wahabees, with those who are weak and wavering in their faith, and many even of the Sheeahs and Rafzees.

7. Letter from Peer Ali to Yoosoof Ali Khan at Patna.

"I have received your letter and also the accounts of Mobee-noollah and Khoda Buksh; I wait now for your's. I fear you are still ill, and hence not able to draw up the account, otherwise you would have written something about your health. I am

always anxious for your welfare.

I am always thoughtful for my friends. But in this world our first concern is for our food; this induces me to be very particular about the sale of books. *Every reader of them* wishes me to commence the undertaking; but on account of Maulvee Saheb I have not as yet done anything. I wait for him. If matters go on right with him, all is well; if not, I shall adopt other measures. The Maulvee has come, but he cannot repair to his house; hence I cannot settle accounts with him. I do not know where Maulvee Musseeh-oos-Zuman has gone; Government has summoned him, but he does not appear. My master is at present in the city. The *sepoys* often ask me if I am the servant of Musseeh-oos-Zuman, and about his present residence. They do not know that I am the servant of Abdoollah. It is a fine adventure here, and no other means are now needed. As regards Torab Ali, if he has proved ungrateful, you better order his property to be taken away from Khan Saheb, or leave it with him until I come. Till that adopt some very good measures for the support of our affairs.

If Sheikh Abdool Humeed has left Benares for Patna, and if you have no expenses, take it from him, as much as I need, and send it by a Hoondee. If not, whatever sum Mobeen Oollah and Khoda Buksh have, send me that only. Thank God I do not require it for any length of time. The expense is paltry; but a great object is gained; for then all the people will know that I get my expenses from Patna. This is the object.

Desire my respectful compliments to Maulana Maulvee Waz-ool-Haq Saheb. I have written a separate letter to him in reply to one of his. I trust it will reach him. From it he will come to the knowledge of all particulars. Although I have written it in a "disguised style" (ambiguous), yet the wise will find out all my meanings.

My compliments and blessings to Mobeen-Oollah and his brother and to Khoda Buksh and his son.

The same to other friends, such as Nunhey, Meer Ahmed Saheb etc.

8. *Letter from Mahomed Ali to Peer Ali, dated 29th Rubeeool-Uwul 1273.*¹

"Ten days ago I despatched a letter by post to you, in which I requested of you to give me full and early particulars of our affairs; as yet I have not been favoured with a reply. Perhaps the letter is lost, or it may have reached you at a time when you were engaged in some important measure, or it may be that even now you are waiting for something before addressing me. At any rate, may God keep you safe. It is necessary to let me know whether you have sum of money about which I wrote, or not. If not, whether means can be adopted to get it before the expiration of a weak. In the commencement, we require Rupees 100 then 50. Let me know all about it without loss of time through the post. Recollect, it is always proper to reply to letters. If, God forbid, we have not the sum (not even 50), nor can secure it anywhere, you will have to send the bearer to *Mohsunpore*; and if you have the sum in hand, let me know on what date a steamer is expected, and also if you will and come, accompanied by your friend Sheikh Imam-ood-deen Saheb. If there are any fresh news, or any fresh occurrences have happened, let me know. Also, if you have received any letter from the Maulvee. Do not show this letter to any one without my permission. Be it known that in this place there is no obstacle whatever to oppose our design now. To the wise a hint is sufficient.

9. *From Hafiz Budeeodeen Ahmud to Meer Bhutto, Shah Dumree etc. Dated Patna, the 29th Sawal (Monday) this year.*

The state of affairs at Patna is as follows.

Some respectable parties of the city are in prison, and the subjects are all weary and disgusted with the tyranny and oppression exercised by Government, who they all curse. May God hear the prayers of the oppressed very soon. The business for which I have come here is progressing, though not accomplished. Let us see when our object is (to be) obtained. On

1. Corresponds to the 28th December, 1856.

account of the disturbed state of things here, I am unable to come. Please Heaven I shall come back after finishing our works of sedition and obtaining our object. Do you pray night and day for us ?

I cannot write to you the true state of things here. I had better be silent on these matters. You have an enlightened mind-bright as the crystal of Aleppo-hence nothing will escape your notice.

Another letter (on the same sheet of page) from Peer Ali Khan.

"I have not failed to attend to our unsettled affairs, but we cannot fight with Fate; hence we must submit. I am really ashamed, and require the assistance of your prayers to obtain my end; if not, I value not life. In other matters we are all safe. May we remain so.

Accept the respects of Sheikh Imam-ood-deen alias Darogah Sahab. Give my kind compliments to Shah Willayet Hoosen Sahab, Sheikh Chukoo, Meer Bhuttoo, Maulvee Moosa Sahab, Maulvee Abdool Aziz, Maulvee Abdool Wahab, and Shah Karamut Hoosen.

10. *Letter from Ali Kareem to Waris Ali*

Dated Patna 13th Phalgun 1264.¹

After Salaam—Be it known to you that I have been to Doomree on account of some necessary business and have had very little leisure while there from having to look into village papers and to attend to several marriages. During that time I received your affectionate letter but there was nothing in it requiring an answer therefore I postponed my reply to it until I was more at leisure. The day before yesterday I got through all these matters and arrived at this place—I therefore write you a few lines.

The first and the most important thing is that you should be acquitted in the case which is pending against you. Therefore it is necessary that you should let me know immediately all particulars which have transpired during this interval. I am occupied

1. Corresponds to the 21th February 1857.

with my own business —Make yourself easy about that—Until we are satisfied on all sides it is impossible to begin . The Fal (or augury derived from consulting the poems) of Hafiz is undoubtedly excellent but I am not pleased with it. Whatever is done by our own hands that alone is capable of giving happiness. At present I have received no fresh news from the West. You had probably heard all the current news where you are. I intend to go to Shahebgunge (Gaya) in 4 or 5 days. Whatever you have to write you must now direct to me there. Mahamed Muncer and others are at present occupied with their affairs. When they are done with they will attend to the business before us. The Children are all well and as I have returned from Doomree after a long stay there—it is probable the Nawab Sahib has gone. I shall, however, enquire from him if he is here I shall go and pay my respects to him. If he has gone give him my respectful compliments.

P.S.

The answer has been filed in your case. The rejoinder is being prepared and will soon be filed. The opposite party wishes to settle the matter on the term of admitting half your claim including cash and houses. Let me know what your determination on this point is.

11. *Letter of 21st April 1857 from Ali Kareem to Waris Alli.*

After Sulaam—I have been at Gaya for the last 6 weeks and during that time have been frequently unwell—I was attended by Hukeem Mahamed Ali of Sahebgunge. He has begun to give me whey—A week ago I came to Doomree on the approach of the marriage of Maulvee Ali Buksh and here I received yours of the 4th April from the Gaya Post Office after great delay—I have understood its meaning. Probably your case has been decided ere this. I am in great anxiety about it. Let me know the particulars—I want very much to see you. The materials for the intended business are ready and are getting ready—At this time the accomplishment of many things depend on my seeing you. If you can come to Gaya then let me know that I may fix

a date and inform you of it so that you may come on that date. In your suit it is necessary to file an amended petition. I have paid 100 Rupees for stamp paper and the amendment has been filed. This expense has been rendered necessary by the stupidity of your Vakeels.—I will send you the details here after—The case is all right you may rest assured when I go to Patna I will see what can be done with regard to an amicable settlement and will write to you after I have ascertained their views. I know so much that the opposite party are willing to settle the matter on payment of half their claim and on your giving up the houses etc. and although the suit promises well yet the game is one that two can play at and the state of the christian courts is notorious. Therefore if you can settle the matter fairly you had better do so. Mahamed Yahya Khan and Lala Bishessur Lall are the Vakeels employed on your side and the Vakeels of the opposite party are Ronnak Ali, Inayat Hoossein and Sheouk Ram. We have also made Govt. a party to the suit but the defence on the part of Govt. has not yet been filed. I have appointed Sheik Rasuddook Hoossein one of my relatives my Mooktar in Patna. He has charge of your case also—written at Domree 11th Bysakh 1264 Fusly.

P. S. You may write to him at Mahendro whatever you may decide on doing with regard to the case.

12. *Letter of 29th April 1857 from Ali Kureem to Waris Alli.*

More than two weeks have elapsed since I went to Doomree to get through the wedding of Ali Buksh's daughter—3 days ago I got away and have arrived at Sahabganj and I despatched a letter with information about your case and other matters from Doomree which you will have received and at the same place I received your letter also. I was quite pleased and satisfied to learn that you have escaped from the persecution of your oppressors and your reinstatement in your appointment is a matter of thankfulness but I have no concern in that—My object was simply your acquittal and your intention of appeal from the orders of the Magistrate is very vain and useless and according to the Govt. practice such appeal is useless nor according to

reason is it becoming to waste your time in such frivolous matters. But from the disposition of the officers particularly the Commissioner it is probable that from such improper appeal the Commissioner and the Magistrate will become displeased and while you hold your appointment to incur the displeasure of these gentlemen without any cause is contrary to wisdom. You should on no account appeal.

The pillao of my imagination is now almost cooked. It will be ready very soon. Then I will call you and feed you upon it. On every account you should be ready. Several friends from different places have collected here to eat and cook the pillao and shortly I also will go to some place to cook the pillao of my imagination. You should keep yourself in readiness. At this place day and night are spent in caring for the pillao of our imagination.

13. *Letter of Ali Kareem dated Gaya 26th Bysakh 1264¹—May 1857.*

After Sulaam etc. Your letter dated 27th April reached Gaya yesterday by the Patna post and I have acquainted myself with its contents. Previous to this I have written a letter to you in reply to your second letter and have directed it to the house of Nawab Sahib at Muzaffarpore. You will have learnt all particulars from that—Your change to another police station nearer to Muzaffarpore was very proper. In consequence of some business of importance I shall not be able to leave Gaya for another month. I am anxious to take St. (Mr. ?) Simpson's professional advice but I have no leisure at present to go to him. Your coming to me also is not at all necessary at present. Just now preparations are being made with regard to our intended trade. Several Gomashtas came from the Western Provinces and obtained orders and commodities of trade and several Gomashtas have gone from this to the Western Provinces and in a short time all the Gomashtas will collect the articles of commerce in one secure place and some of the principal men of the western provinces who

1. Correspond to the 5th May, 1857

are also partners in this trade will assemble there and inspect the commodities and make arrangements for their despatch into every country. Then when the Gomashtas of the trade shall be collected in one place and the partners of the trade have set out from different parts towards the locality where the property is heaped up—I will immediately write and summon you. You must then come immediately either by taking leave of absence or by resigning your appointment and having started from this and arrived at the place where the property is collected and having inspected the commodities with your own eyes you must make arrangements for despatching them and obtaining profit from them under your own superintendence and along with you will start Maulvie Sooltan Hossein and other partners of the trade. They are all ready. After the partners of the trade have all started and have arrived at the appointed place at the time of despatching the property I shall proceed by dak and arrive there. By the grace of God new prospects of profit in the trade are day by day providentially opening up. The Partners in the trade are collecting from all sides of their own accord and many wealthy men and several men of capital have sent messages requesting to be admitted with the partnership and have become partners and the commodities of the trade are arriving in abundance. It now only remains to heap up all the articles of trade in our place and we have obtained a secure place for collecting these things where there is no fear of evil designing men or thieves etc. No one will be able to lay hand upon the property in that place—A full explanation of all particulars will be given when I see you. For the present you should discharge your own duties with a tranquil heart—you must not be anxious regarding this matter of the trade. If the other partners are making excellent arrangements for every thing connected with it. It is only necessary that you should keep yourself free from all engagements—And with the exception of the Govt. service you should involve yourself in no other transactions which may engage your affections so that whenever I write to you you may be able to come without hesitation or delay. I have written to you before

regarding the state of your law suit. The stupidity of your Vakeels necessitated the amendment. The case is now ready. It is necessary to file your proofs. Indeed your Mookhtar has taken a few rupees to procure copies of your documentary proof—After I have ascertained the amount I will send whatever money may be necessary for the expenses of the suit. It is enough to send for your information a copy of the amended petition. I am writing to the Mookhtar to send it to you and if after sundry consultation your suit should be settled on the basis of your receiving half your claim or whatever it may be I shall recover it immediately. It is better than contention. If you give me distinct permission in this matter I shall endeavour to bring it about.

14. *Letter which Waris Ali was writing to Ali Kareem when he was apprehended.*

After Salaam—I sent two applications for leave of absence one while Mansoor Ali was here and the second subsequently. One for two weeks leave and the other for 5 days setting forth urgent necessity—Both were refused. Nevertheless I have sent off all my things to Patna on two or three hackeries along with my people and had resolved that I should proceed to Patna without leave but this mode of proceeding did not appear to me advisable and it seemed impossible to reach my destination. It appeared plain to me that the moment I started preparations for seizing me would be made without cause. Therefore I have advisedly made myself light for travelling and am trying to obtain an opportunity and to find means of getting there. In order that you may be acquainted with these circumstances and that you may not expect me I have sent you the hakeem who is a real and sincere friend and one who can be trusted with a secret. My object is that he may learn the real state of things and the preparations which have been made to secure success in the regular suit which you know of and that he may also see these preparations with his own eyes, and acquaint you with what is going on here. He must further obtain your advice in writing in order

that I may not be disappointed on both sides (full between two stook) should such preparations have been made there (i.e. in Patna that I can obtain the jewel of my wishes at the moment of my arrival. You must write to me plainly and in detail what steps you have taken and what preparations you have made and whether you have gained over the servants of the opposite party that is of the defendants so that on my arrival success and victory may at once be obtained and that I may secure the precious stone of my desire. You must also write distinctly if I am to come to you with regard to my own advantage or disadvantage in order that relying upon this I may act decidedly. I keep myself in every way light and unencumbered. By getting rid of my things I have incurred a loss of hundreds of rupees as will be explained to you by the Hukeem. I now only await your answer and occupy myself in trying to get away—By God's favour I shall find some means of obtaining leave by the time your answer reaches me—for in reply to the perwanah refusing me leave I shall submit another application for the short leave of 4 or 5 days. From present appearances I do not think my resignation would be accepted. I wished to excuse myself on the ground of illness but if I had done so I should have been summoned for the inspection of the Doctor. I send you copies of my applications for leave. Strong as my grounds of applications were no attention is paid to them. What can I do? Had I wings I could have flown to you but please God I shall reach you some way or other. You should keep your mind easy. But it is a pity that Sha(h) Sekander Ali did not visit me or inform me that I might have tried to get leave before. Now if I leave without permission it is impossible to make the journey in safety. Indeed there are several things to be feared. By the will of God, however, I am trying to reach you in best possible way, and I have kept myself quite alone here. It is proper that immediately on the arrival of the Hukeem you should write to me all that is going on there and send it to me by your own servant. Do not forward it by dak as letters sent by Dak are opened.

15. *From Ali Kareem, dated Patna Mahendru, from the house of Colonel Kulb Ali, 4th April 1856, at Chawkee Nagur Bustee.*

"What shall I write about the king of Oude ? The names of cowards should never disgrace the pen of the brave. He is lying in Calcutta, and crying bitterly for the Imaum.

What shall I write about my undertaking. I am established in mind, and always engaged in maturing that which is imprinted on my heart. At present, the Khuleefas will be sent to several places to lead the ignorant and prepare all for an issue. I shall relate to you all the particulars when I see you. I am at present lodging at Mehendroo in the house of Colonel Kulb Ali (you saw the place) Direct your letter there.

16. *From Ali Kureem to Waris Ali, dated 12th June 1857.*

"I have reached Doomree today, and I am as yet unwell. Matters are assuming a different turn now. Your immediate coming is very necessary. Today I have sent my Peada, Munsoor Ali, to you with a letter; another letter I have very carefully sent by the post. Come away at sight of this, either on leave, or by any means possible. Do not delay at all. Everything depends on you. Without your arrival, the defence of the honour, property, and life of poor people like us is impossible. At such a period matters should be shared by you, otherwise a weak and an old man like me can do nothing. The ruling powers are straitened by the work of the ingrates. Who asks what poor people such as we are doing ? Bring the riding horse, etc. with you. I wait your arrival every moment.

BIHAR IN THE TIME OF THE LAST TWO LODI SULTANS OF DELHI

By

S. H. Askari.

The vast stretch of the country fringed by the Himalaya Tarai and the Kaimurs ranges of hills on the north and south, and bordering upon Bengal and U. P. on the east and west,¹ is a rich and fertile land, being well-watered by a net-work of rivers, some big and unfordable, and is inhabited by sturdy people who could be a threat to the security of others. It had made history in ancient times, and was of all-India importance for many centuries in the past. But medieval Bihar lost its old status and had very little independent history of its own, for there was no first rate Hindu and Muslim power, nor a sovereign Bihar Sultanate to dispute the claims of its ambitious eastern and western neighbours, and defy and deny submission to the Delhi rulers. In pre-Akbar's days the history of Bihar was largely a record of the tussle between Bengal and Delhi for the mastery over Bihar whose fortunes were very often linked with them and for about a century the kings of Jaunpore exercised their sway over most parts of Bihar.²

But the period covered by the reigns of Sikandar Lodi and his successor represents a stage in the history of Bihar which though somewhat confused and complicated was marked by many significant developments, worth the attention of even those interested in the general history of India. Bihar played

1. Akbar's 'Subah' of Bihar was 120 Kos from Garhi to Rohtas and 110 Kos from Tirhut to the south. The southern boundary was vague and undefined but the western border marched into the eastern portion of Gorakhpur comprising the triangular tract west of the Gandak, including the parganahs of Sidhua Jobna and Shah Jahanpur which formed one of the Mahals of Sarkar-i-Saran, and it was not added to Gorakhpur till 1730 or there about (Gorakhpur Gazeteer)

2. See Blochman's contributions, in J.A.S.B. and also "A review of Bihar during Turko-Afghan period," in Current Studies of Patna College.

an important part in the history of Hindustan. This period witnessed the last ineffectual attempts of Hussain Shāh Sharqi, from his retreat in Bihar, to recover his lost kingdom and Sikandar Lodi's spirited actions which restored the Delhi suzerainty over this part of the country, made the Raja of Tirhut a tributary ruler again, and compelled the powerful king of Bengal to sign a non-aggression pact with him. There was an extensive colonization of Muslims, both north and south of the Ganges, the remains of which can still be seen in the ruins of habitations and inscriptional stones of buildings now extinct. But by far the most remarkable and distinctive feature of the period was the rise of the Afghan Confederacy, led at first by the Nuhānis who, for a short time, succeeded in establishing a kingdom extending from Bihar to Kannauj and Sambhal. The Formulis shone at their best in Saran and Champaran, and the Surs, led by Farid Khan, a protege of the Nuhānis, make their appearance for the first-time in this period. The eventual triumph of Farid as Sher Shah was a triumph of Bihar and an all-India affair.

The history of Bihar is ultimately connected with the last phase of the Sharqi-Lodi struggles. The Sharqi Kingdom of Jaunpur, virtually founded in 796-1394 and extending from Qannauj to Bihar, and at one time from Sambhal to Bundelkhand and Baghelkhand,¹ fell before Bahlol Lodi in 884-1479, shortly after it had attained its greatest extent. During 4 years' truce with Bahlol, Hussain Shah Sharqi, had led successful expeditions² to Orissa, at least as far as Bamra where 22 out of 71 copper coins of the Sharqi king, bearing his name, together with one of Madan Sinha of Champaran (1453-58), were discovered

1. Jaunpur Gazetteer, p. 160

2. The first 4 years truce with Bahlol gave him time for the sack of Tirhut and the expedition to Orissa. Husain succeeded his brother, Mohammad Shah who was killed in 1459 A.D. after a disturbed reign of 5 months. Soon after his accession, Sultan Husain concluded a truce with Bahlol Lodi who had been at war with Mohammed Shah in order to consolidate his kingdom and extend his power. He carried out his plundering raid into Orissa, compelling Kapilleshwardeva (1435-70) to pay him a large sum of money as indemnity. C. H. I. III 255. The Orissan historians describe Kapilleshwardeva as a minister and Kapilendradeva as a great conqueror. As for the discovery of the hoard of coins, see Mr. De's article in O. H. R. J, July, 1953.

in 1950. Tirhut also was over-run, and Hussain exacted heavy tributes from the Hindu rulers of those places, and this had greatly increased his wealth and fame. In 883-1478 he had marched to Badāun and Sambhal and taken the Government of the latter place from Mubārak Khan, son of Tātār Khan, whom he sent as a prisoner to Saran in north Bihar. He then marched on Delhi, but another (the fourth) truce was patched up and was this time broken by Bahlol Lodi who attacked Hussain in the rear, captured his regalia, and after defeating him several times sent him flying first to Bhatta and eventually to Bihar. Jaunpur was occupied and placed in charge of Mubārak K. Nuhāni, the father of his more famous son, Daryā Khan. This probably happened in 889-1484. Hussain Shah made another futile attempt in 1486 to recover his kingdom, marched to Jaunpur, and drove Mubārak Khan to Majhowli, on the Gandak, the rendezvous of the Lodi officers. This brought back Bahlol from the west and he ejected Hussain Shah from Jaunpur and followed him along the Ghagra as far as Haldi in Balia district and pursued him to the confines of Bihar. Hussain Shah erected a domed building at Behar town in 892-1486,¹ as is evident from an inscription. Having made his eldest surviving son, Bārbak Shāh, an independent ruler of Jaunpur in this year (1486) and instructed him not to interfere with Hussain in his estates on the other side of the Ganges, including Chunār² Chaund, and Bihar, Bahlol returned to Delhi and died in 1488, after nominating his favourite son, Nizam, to succeed him on the throne of Delhi.

Nizam assumed the crown of Delhi under the title of Sikandar Shah Lodi at Jalali on 17th Shāaban 894. He sent Ismail

1. "Sultān Hussain Khusrave Shāh-i-Sabāh-o-Shām, Zu Sarfārāz Gasht Mokarar Zamin-i-Ām 3 Kard Ibtadaa-i-Gumbad-i-Gardun-i-Sabz Ra. 4 Safdār Saifshikan Malik-us-Sharq Bengalagām ? 5. Nāzād Alāa-i-Daulat Bar Mulk-o-Lashkarash 6 Dar Kārzār Shud Zc Sar-i-Tegh-i-u Nizām 7. Az Sāal-i-Mah-i-Awwal-o-Waz Sāal-i-Māh Bud. 8. Hisad Nawad Guzashta-o-Do Az Mah-i-Haram"

2. Even Sikandar Lodi who had his eyes on Chunar, a fort of strategic importance, was prepared to leave the country beyond Karmanasa to the Vanquished Sharqi king, for he offered Chaund and Bihar to him provided he did not harbour or encourage his enemies.

K. Nuhāni on an embassy to his elder brother, to patch up a treaty on the lines laid down by their father. But the instigation of some of the Afghan chiefs and the secret intrigues of the exiled king of Jaunpur whetted the ambition of Bārbak who advanced to Kanauj to wrest the sceptre of Delhi from Sikandar. He was, however, worsted and fled to Badāun but subsequently submitted and was pardoned and restored to the kingdom of Jaunpur. At the same time some trusted Omarāhs were settled in the neighbouring regions to keep Bārbak steady and to watch over the activities of Hussain Shah who was still a force in Bihar.

Hearing, at Delhi, of a formidable rebellion by the Hindu Zamindars and the Bachgotia Rajputs led by Joga, who in 898-1492-3, had assembled a lakh of men and caused the flight of Bārbak to Bahrāich and of Mubārak K. Nuhāni to Jhusi where he was captured by sailors and then by Rai Bhaid Chandra of Bhatta,¹ suggesting the latter's complicity with Hussain. The Sultan of Delhi advanced eastwards. Joga and his men were surprised on the Gumti and sent flying for refuge with Hussain Shah. The Delhi ruler sent a conciliatory message to Hussain Shah Sharqi, then in his fort of chaund² in Shahabad dist, that, he respected him as his uncle and would leave him in possession of his existing estates, but would like that he chastized Joga himself or banished him. The unwise ex-ruler of Jaunpur sent an insulting reply through his envoy, Mir Syed Khan, that Joga was his servant but if the silly boy-king persisted in his folly he would receive a good shoe-beating.³ Coming out of Chaund, Hussain gave battle but was defeated at Katghar (Rai Baraili dist.) and put to flight. Bārbak was reinstalled at Jaunpur.

1. Dorn, the translator of *Makhzan-i-Afāghina*, and also others have very often confused Bhatta and Panna of Rewa with Patna of Behar. Nizāmuddin describes Rai Bhaid as a Raja of Bhatta who sent back the captured Mubarak Khan Nuhāni, whose brother, Sher Khan of Karra, had already been killed.

2. It was a large Parganna with a fort and is included in modern Chainpur, near Bhabua, in Shahabad district.

3. Vide T. S. S.; T. D.; and T. S. by A. Y.

On his return, the Sultan of Delhi had hardly spent a month in Awadh regions when news reached him of the recrudescence of troubles in Jaunpur owing to the incapacity of Bārbak Shāh who was again driven out by the local Zamindars in favour of Hussain Shah. This time Bārbak was not spared but arrested and put in chains and the separate Eastern kingdom was extinguished and annexed to Delhi. The Government of Jaunpur was placed in charge of Jamāl Khan Sāranghani, the first patron of Farid Khan Sur, in 899-1493. In the same year the emperor marched towards Chunār, still in possession of Hussain Shah Sharqi, whose Omarāhs put up a fight but were defeated and driven within the fort. The Chunar fort being strong and impregnable, Sikandar Lodi did not take the risk of delay in besieging it, and proceeded against Rāi Bhaid Chandra, the Baghela ruler of Bhatta, now Rewa, who submitted and was confirmed in his possession of Kantit in Mirzapur district. But he soon took alarm and fled away from the Sultan's camp. He was not pacified even by the Sultan's sending his private property to him. The Sultan then went to Dālmau where he married Sher Khan's widowed wife.

Next year in 900-1494 the Sultan of Delhi again marched towards the south-east with a view to chastizing Rāi Bhaid. The latter's grandson, Bir Singh of Bhatta, tried to check his advance, but was routed and the Rai himself died during the course of his precipitate flight to Surguja¹. The campaign in the difficult barren, rocky country where there was acute scarcity of essential provisions, cost the Sultan much and entailed the loss of most of his cavalry and he was compelled to fall back on Jaunpur for supplies and repair of his army. Lakhmi Chand, another son of Rāi Bhaid, and other chieftains, sent a message to Hussain Shah, then in Bihar, that the crippled resources of the Sultan of Delhi and the loss of his entire cavalry provided the much sought-for opportunity of turning the table upon him. Hussain collected an army in Bihar and marched with 100

1. Surguja or Ambikapur, one of the former Eastern States, lies about 32 miles S. E. of Daltonganj (Palamau in Chotanagpur)

elephants on his old capital. Sikandar Lodi hastened southward to Kantit, crossed the Ganges, and was joined, 18 Kos (30 miles) beyond Banares, by Sālīvāhan of Bhatta or Bhatgahora¹, the eldest son and successor of Rājī Bhaid Chandra, who had been won over by Khān Khānān Nuhāni, and there, in a well contested battle, was again defeated and compelled to flee towards Patna. Being closely pursued he took the route to Bihar Sharif. Waiting for 9 days for the whole army to join him, Sikandar Lodi marched towards Bihar at the head of 1 Lakh force. The demoralized ex-Sharqi king leaving Malik Kāndoo incharge of Bihar fort fled to Khalgāon where he was courteously received by the Bengal king with whom he was connected by matrimonial alliance. The emperor of Delhi detached from his camp at Deobār,² about 4 miles north-east of Bihar, a force which drove out Malik Kāndoo and then the province of Bihar was annexed to Delhi in 901-1495.

Leaving Mahabbat Khan with several Omarahs incharge of the Bihar citadel, the emperor returned to his camp at Darweshpur,³ near Maner. Soon he left his camp incharge of Khān Jahān Formulī and advanced thence in all haste, towards Tirhut. The "Rāi of Tirhut"⁴ came and submitted to his authority and offered some lakhs of Tankas in tribute and presents. The Sultan left there Mubārak K. Nuhāni to receive the tribute and returned to his camp at Darweshpur.

1. Gahora which was the Capital of Bhatta is now a forsaken village, about 12 miles east of Karvi in Banda district.

2. There is a village known as Dewarchak in Bikram Thana and served from Naubatpur P. O. vide Village Directory, Vol. XXVI, Patna.

3. There are many Darweshpurs in Patna district in Thanas of Hilsa, Masaurhi, Barh, Bihar and Maner. But the camp of Sikandar Lodi appears to have been Darweshpur Uparwar or Darweshpur Diara which is contiguous to, and a part of, Maner, though Darweshpur Ultamgha, in Barh thana (S.E.) would have been a more convenient place for embarking on the Tirhut expedition.

4. Mithila Tatva Vimarsh by M. M. Parmeshwar Jha Vol. I 213 says that Rūp Narain alias Raja Rambhadra of Oinwar Dynasty who ruled for 15 years in Tirhut and has been mentioned in "Ganga Kritya Viveka", composed in 1495, at whose instance Bibhakara wrote his work, Dvaita Viveka, in the latter half of the 15th century, met the Sultan of Delhi at Patna. Extracts from Dvaitas have been quoted to suggest that Rūp Narain Rambhadra was a friend of Sultan of Delhi. But there is nothing in it to show that the Raja was received in Patna. On the other hand, reference is clear that the Sultan went to Tirhut where he "left" his officers to receive the tribute.

Thereafter, he went to Bihar Sharif to pay his respects to the shrine of the celebrated 14th century Saint, H. Sharfuddin Yahyā Maneri, and distributed money among the Fakirs and paupers there. He then returned via Patna where Khān-i-Jahān died, on 16 Shawwal, 901, and his son, variously named as Ahmad or Khusrū Khan, received the title of Āzam Humāyun.

Then the emperor ordered the army to be equipped a-fresh and start for the Bengal expedition. Sultan Alauddin of Bengal sent an army under his son, Prince Dānyal, to oppose the advance of the imperialists, sent from Qutlughpur,¹ and led by Mahmud K. Lodi and Mubārak K. Nuhāni. Neither party wished to go to extremes and a treaty, subsequently ratified by the two Sultans, was signed at *Barh* whereby in addition to mutual assurance of non-aggression against the respective but unspecified dominions, the Bengal ruler gave an undertaking not to harbour the enemies of the empire. On his return Mubārak K. Nuhāni died in the township of Patna and the Government of Bihar was confided to his son, Darya K. Nuhāni whose name², along with that of Sikandar Lodi, is preserved in a newly discovered inscriptional stone in Bihar. The emperor, then at Qutlughpur, south of Maner, returned to the camp at Durweshpur and entrusted the Government of that side of the country to Āzam³ Humāyun. During his stay in Bihar an acute scarcity of grain faced the people and the army, and the emperor ordered complete abolition of the transit customs on grain and this remained in force till the time of Akbar.

1. Makhzan has Tughluqpur, but T. A. and Farishta give the correct name, Qutlughpur. There is at present a village Kutlupur, 4 miles S. E. of Maner, and 3 miles N. of Bihta. It is described as "Az Amal-i-Bihar" Amal means Pargana or village.

2. In the northern wall of the enclosure containing the tomb of Fazlullah Gosāin, in Dāira muhalla of Bihar, an inscriptional stone has been recently discovered by us by removing the heavy plaster. It records the creation of the "eastern gate" (Dar-i-Sharqi) by Haji Khan in 901 after the conquest of Bihar (Bihār Āmad Ba Dast-i-oo) by Emperor Sikandar and in the time of "Wazir-i-mulk Din Ārā-i-Daryā Khan Faridun Far. Sepahr-i-Mulk-o-Millat-Rā Ze Nuhāni Buwad Mahwar."

3. Wrongly described in C. H. I. III as the Governor of Behar who was directed to send the daring Brahman named Budh Sen who said that Islam was as true a faith as Hinduism, with two rival preachers, one supporting him, to the court at Sambhal. Lucknow has been wrongly taken to be Lakhnauti.

Some time after the emperor set out for Saran "a dependency of Bihar" and dispossessing the Hindu zamindars of some of the Parganahs there assigned them in Jāgirs to his own men. Thence he returned to Jaunpure where he stayed for 6 months.

It has been supposed that¹ Sāran was an unconquered territory and remained in undisturbed possession of the Hindu Zamindārs till the reduction of the district by Sikandar Lodi. It certainly formed a part of the Sharqi Hussain Shah's dominion, otherwise he would not have sent the dispossessed governor of Sambal, Mobārak K., to Saran to be kept a prisoner there. The newly discovered two beautiful Arabic inscriptions on black-basalt stone at Narhan², on the Gogra, in Raghunathpur Thana of Siwān sub-division (Saran), one recording the erection of a congregational mosque by Alāuddin Hussain Shah of Bengal and the other, belonging to a mausoleum of a warrior Saint and a Syed, built³ in 906, suggest the existence of a considerable Muslim population in that region. Cherand in Chapra Muffasil Thāna, where also a Jām-i-Masjid was erected by Hussain Shah of Bengal in 909 had Muslim Sufis and scholars in later Tughlak times as we find from reference in a Mulfuz⁴ of a Balkhi saint. Amarpur, near Darauli (Saran), has a magnificent three-chambered many-domed (royal) mosque with massive walls, part of which has been swallowed by the Gogra, the remaining being in possession of the Hindus at present, who gave no clue to the inscriptional stone the place of which is empty. History tells us that Sultan Firuz Shah Tughlaq, on his return from Eastern Bengal, gave up Bihar to Malik⁵ Bir Khan who reduced the Hindu Zamindars to subjection. There is still a strong belt of Muslim population in Siwan sub-division of Saran and the ruins of old habitations, traditions, and Muslem names

1. See the Gazeteers of Saran and Ballia district.

2. Recently discovered by the writer. Babar mentions Narhan.

3. The beautiful inscriptional stone was brought from Narhan by the Kararani Afghans of the neighbouring village, Salempur, and is now in a small mosque there. Blochmann published the text in J.A.S.B., 1874, p. 304.

4. Munis-ul-Qulub by H. Ahmed Balkhi Langar Darya.

5. T. M. S. (Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi)

of villages now with non-Moslem population have also their own significance.

A more effective hold of the Muslims on Saran and Champaran was admittedly established under the Lodis. Among the 53 Omārahs of Sikander Lodi, historians include the name of Hussain Khan Formuli "Nāib of Sāran". He was the most important of the 5 sons of Khawajagi Shaikh Sayeed Formuli and along with Daryā K. Nuhāni, his uncle Sher K, Omar K. Sarwāni, etc. had attached himself to Sikandar Lodi while he was still prince Nizām Khan. Two Afghan historians have recorded the wonderful feats of valour performed by Husain¹ Formuli, Daryā Nuhāni, and Ibrāhim Sarwāni in the service of their princely master in overwhelming the numerous hordes of the recalcitrant chieftains, Tātār K. and Saif Khan. Sheikh Rizquallah Mushtāqi (Hindi surnamed Rājan) has told us further that Miyān Hussain Formuli, the Jagirdār of Sāran and Champāran, which were called Jalkhet or field or of water, had taken many thousands (?) of villages from the Hindus, besides those comprizing his Jāgir. Notwithstanding the high flood² of the Gandak he and his incomparable Commander, Mughula Karārāni, crossed the river and surprized the Rāja of Champaran³ in his fort on the other side, and the 200 years old Hindu state ceased to exist, and much booty, including a great quantity of gold, was captured. One may make allowance for the highly exaggerated figures given by the poetic author but the account can not be summarily rejected as we find corroboration⁴ of some of the facts from other sources. Either the growth of power and prestige and also territorial possessions

1. Tarikh-i-Daudi and Tarikh-i-Shahi by A. Y.

2. Though Gandak is a wide spreading river, the operation of flood could not have made its width 7 kos as Mushtāqi says.

3. The un-named Raja of Champaran might have been a vassal ruler or a local chieftain. The author of the history of Tirhut refers to an inscription, dated V. S. 1556—1500 A. D. which says "Nrpa Narain sut Nrpa Amar Singh." We do not know who these Narayan and Amar Singh were, and which part of Champaran they ruled over, or on what relations they stood to Rambhadra Rup Narain (1491-1508).

4. Ahmad Yādgār (T. S.) tells us about Māruf Farmuli and his claims that he and his friend (Hussain Formuli) were responsible for the capture of the fort of Chaund and for taking 3 maunds of gold from "the Rājāh of Bihar."

of the Jāgirdar of Sāran and Champāran, or some kind of connection with the popular and revered Bengal king, excited the suspicion of the Afghān suzerain of Delhi who, as both Nizāmuddin and Farishta tell us, despatched Hāji Sārung with some troops in that quarter in 915-1509 with orders to win over the Nāib's (Governor) troops and, if possible, to seize his person. Miyān Hussain Formuli scented the danger and escaping to Bengal sought refuge with Alāuddin Hussain Shah.

The other chief noble of Sikandar Lodi was "Musnad-i-Āli Daryā K. Nuhāni, the Muqti of Bihar". About this fine and heroic old Afghān, we are told by Rizqullah, that he was loyal and continued his hold on Bihar even when on the return of the emperor from Jaunpur (after another campaign in Rewah as far as Bāndho in 904, and the forced realization of the defalcated revenue from the Governor of Jaunpur in 905, which gave rise to a conspiracy of the nobles in favour of prince Fateh Khan, a son of Bahlol Lodi), as many as¹ 22 Omarahs proved faithless, the only other exception being Jamāl K. Sārang Khāni, Muqti of Jaunpur. The same author gives a brief account of what appears to have been another determined attempt on the part of Hussain Shah Sharqi to recover Bihar, possibly with the help of the Bengal² King. "In a very short time Hussain invaded Bihar". Daryā K. "Sought no outside aid" and "sallying out of the fort gave the fight in the plains, remained there in the night, and next day re-entered the fort." Sultan Hussain used to ride out from his camp and opened his assault. Daryā K. withstood the assault wherever it was most formidable, even if he had to break open the wall of the fort, extorting the admiration of the aggressor. "For two months he protected the for-

1. The historian, Nizāmuddin (T. A.) also tells us about 22 chieftains who conspired against Sikandar Lodi and instigated Fateh Khan, his brother, to make a bid for the throne of Delhi, but the plot was disclosed to the Emperor.

2. "Sultan Jalaluddin Sharqi," whom Babar mentions in his "Memoirs, was the son of Hussain Sharqi and he was married to Naseeb (Nasrat) Shah's daughter i.e. the grand daughter of Hussain Shah of Bengal. Hussain Sharqi is said to have died in 905 but coins bearing his name were struck as late as 910—1504 A. D.

tress with his own force" and when "the royal force arrived in the vicinity, Sultan Hussain withdrew". Though uncorroborated, there is nothing improbable in this new information. But Rizquallah goes further and says that "When Sultan Sikandar Lodi died, and the king of Bengal and the Rajah of Orissa made hostile moves, Darya K. remarked "what of that if the Sultan is dead. I am still alive and I have always been here while the Sultan was far away in his own place. Go and fix the gate against Bengal on one side and against Orissa on the other—let him—who dares, come to this side. No body moved from his place."

Against these boastful words, if spoken at all, may be set some facts furnished by epigraphic and numismatic evidences. Bhagalpur was definitely within the jurisdiction of the Bengal Sultans, as is evident from Muzaffar Habshi's mosque inscription of Champānagar,¹ dated 879, and Bonhāra (Banka) and Mulnachak (a Mahalla of Bhagalpur) mosque inscriptions of Hussain Shah, dated 908 and 912 respectively, for they mention the officers and their titles. The same may be said about Monghyr where Hussain Shah's son, Dānyal, built a vault over the shrine of Pir Shah Nāfah in 903 when Sikandar Lodi was still present in the East. The mosque inscription of Hussain Shah at Bārḥ (Patna Dist.), dated 916, at Cherānd (Saran), dated 909, and at Narhan (Saran) are devoid of names of Bengal officials but Begu Hajjam's mosque in Patna City was erected by Khān-i-Āzam Nāzir Khan, apparently an official of Hussain Shah, in 916. These lend weight to the theory that the withdrawal of Sikander Lodi from Bihar was followed by the re-assertion of Bengal supremacy over Saran in the north and up to Patna on the South. The coins not only of Hussain Shah and his son, Nasrat or Nasib Shah, minted at Fatahābad and Husainabad, but also one silver coin of Muzaffar Shah Habshi,

1. The text of this and others discovered by the writer, have been given in the article in the "Current studies", referred to above and other inscriptions, except two, of Narhan and Barh, recently found, had been already published by Blochmann in J. A. S. B.

dated,¹ 896, have been found in Tirhut, and there is a definite historical evidence about Nusrat's invasion of Tirhut. A mosque built by him at Begusarāi was swallowed by the river, but the inscriptional stone has been discovered.

One might infer from these evidences that the rule of the Bengal kings extended to Saran and even beyond in the north and up to Patna in South Bihar. But it is significant that besides the well-known Daryāpur and Luhānipur Muhallas² of Patna, out of the 38 villages in Patna district which probably bear Daryā Khān's name more than half lie in the eastern part of it. A Malfuz of a 15th-16th century Sufi Saint refers several times to the powerful "Hākīm-i-Bihar." Daryā K., and says that when he learnt about the work of the saint among the Koles in the Aurangabad sub-division of Gaya District from his men who had been sent to purchase horses at Sasarām, he erected for him a mosque, a Khānqāh, and a village (Kushk) at 'Narahna' near Amjhar. Perhaps the incident of the powerful Jāgirdar of Saran and Champaran who fled for refuge to Bengal to escape the wrath of Sikandar Lodi, provides a clue and suggests some sort of dependence of the Afghan chiefs of Bihar on, or some kind of political friendship with, the Bengal³ King. It is difficult to accept that the great Nuhāni Governor of Bihar probably whose name and that of his father appear to be still borne by so many villages in Patna district had no hold on Patna and its eastern portion. It is possible that the inscriptional stone in Begu Hajjam's. Mosque in Patna was brought from elsewhere, for there is no mention of Patna in it, as is the case with the other inscription in the same mosque, and there is no indica-

1. The silver coin of Hussain Shah minted at Hussainabad and another of Muzaffar Shah have been found in village Berma in Madhubani sub-division of Darbhanga district.

2. Manāqib-i-Muhammadi by Ali Sher noticed by the writer in a paper already published.

3. See both Farishta and Nizāmuddin historians. We do not know when and how the "Formuli Chieftains" returned to his allegiance to the Delhi ruler. In T. A. there is a reference to the sons of Hussain Farmuli and various other Farmuli chiefs being deputed by Ibrahim Lodi to attack the rebels, Islam Khan Sarvani and Sāyee Khan Lodi of Lucknow, and they figured in the battle of Bangarmau, near Kanouj. T. S. also supports this.

tion in the latter that, "Beg Muhammed" who erected this 'place of worship in happy Patna town' in 1056-1646 reconstructed or renewed it. At any rate, Darya, as a good Muslim could raise no objection to a pious neighbouring Muslim king, revered as a descendant of the Prophet, erecting Houses of Worship beyond his jurisdiction and where non-existed, for catering to the needs of a growing population of fellow-Muslims ? It may be that there was a temporary occupation of Patna by the Bengal king who satisfied his craze for building mosques. In that case, Sikandar Lodi was much too busy in the west to turn his attention towards the veiled disaffection and disservice of the Afghans in the east for the question of Khutba inevitably arises.

The matter grew worse under his son and successor, Ibrāhīm Lodi, whose conception of absolute sovereignty and haughty, suspicious, and cruel nature made him treat as inferiors the war-like arrogant and independence-loving Afghans of other tribes among whom his grandfather had been rather *primus-inter pares* than a despotic monarch. Rizqullah says that he was very unfair in his dealings with his own brother¹. He withheld his assent to the division of the empire, and would not leave Jālāl to rule in Jaunpur or leave even Kālpi, as settled by Malik Ādam Kākar. With the help of Daryā K. Nuhānī² and others, most of Jālāl's officers, particularly Āzam Humayun, were won over "and the name of the Sultan began to be used afresh in the Khutba and Sikka from Jaunpur to Bihar. "This sentence in the Makhzan has got it its own significance. The arbitrary recall of Āzam Humāyun, however, from the spirited siege of Gwalior when the fort was about to fall and his unjust imprisonment, along with that of Miyan Bhowa³ the powerful and scholarly

1. Sikandar Lodi left 6 sons of whom Ibrāhīm and Jālāl were by one wife. Jālāl appealed for help to Azam Sarwānī complaining of the Sultan's "breach of promises". Khān Jahān Nuhānī of Rāpri had induced the Sultan to cancel the arrangement for the partition.

2. Described in T.A. as Mir Adl or Chief Judge and 'Naib-i-Bihar'. T.D. also refers to him as Mir Adl and tells us about a case of Arval in Gaya district.

3. He was the author of Maadan-us-Shafa, a voluminous book on medicine, based on the standard works of ancient Hindu physicians like Charak, Susruta and many others. The Cataloguer of Rampur Library says that he died in 925 but Mr. Yasin Niazi writes in oriental Magazine, Lahore, that he lived in prison for 2 years some months.

Wazir of Sikandar Lodi, and assassination of Prince Jalāl, sent a thrill of terror into the hearts of the Omarahs. Syed K. Lodi was done to death, Kabir K. Lodi was put in chains, and the same treatment was to be meted out to the son¹ of Daulat K. Lodi, Governor of the Pānjab. But he scented the Sultan's intention and fled westward.

But many of the Afghan nobles who were prodigies of valour and sensitive about their power and prestige were not irreconcilable to their sovereign, the symbol of Afghan unity. Even Islām K. Sarwāni of Karā, who defeated the imperialists at Bāngarmau accepted the mediation of the saintly Raju Buḥhari and offered his allegiance on condition of his father being released. But the Sultan would not relent and his Farmān to Daryā K. Nuḥāni, Governor of Bihar, Nasir K. Nuḥāni of Ghāzipur and others to exterminate the rebels was carried out. Islām Khan was killed and his ally, Sayeed K. fell a prisoner into the hands of Darya K.'s troops. Hussain Formuli, the ex-Jāgirdar of Saran and Champaran, appears to have returned from Bengal and offered his services to his Afghān suzerain. But he and Māruf Formuli who had served Sikandar Lodi as supreme commanders were sadly dis-illusioned when they were placed in subordination to Miyān Mākhan, a kinsman of the Sultan, who was not only to command the expedition against Rānā Sāngā but also to dispose of the powerful Formuli Chieftains. They were ever on their guard and if Rizquallah is to be believed the eastern Afghans 'inveigled Masnad Āli-Daryā K. Governor of Bihar, whom also the Sultan wanted to make afflicted into doing so. The old but still valorous Hussain Formuli gave a bit of his mind to Miyān Mākhan and opined that their master had lost his senses. He even temporized with the Rānā² at Toda and left Miyān Mākhan to be defeated by the Rajputs. But 'the Rustam

1. T. S. S. and T. S. give the name as Dilawar Khan whom Daulat Khan Lodi sent in Kabul with mangoes and honey.

2. Tod says that Rānā Sāngā twice defeated the forces of Sultan Ibrāhim, but no dates are given. The account given above is based on T. D. and T. S. by A. Y.

of the age¹ soon repented over his dis-service, fell suddenly upon, and broke through the serried ranks of the Rānā and captured 15 elephants and seven hundreds of horses which he sent to the Sultan through his brother, Miyān Tāhā, and requested him to release Syed K. Yusuf Khail and Fateh K., son of Azam Humayun, who had died. This was done and the Sultan offered him Sambhal, Chanderi or his old Jagirs in Sāran and Champāran. He unwisely chose Chanderi "to wreak vengeance against the Rānā". But his ungrateful suzerain sent secret instructions to and even heavily bribed the Shaikh Zādās of Chanderi who fell upon Miyān Hussain at night and killed him. This fresh instance of the Sultan's malice, injustice and unwisdom produced the same effect in the East as the alarming report of Dilāwar K. to his father, Daulat K. did in the West. The Nuhānis and others rallied round Daryā K., the Governor of Bihar (1495-1522) who had fought well and loyally for Ibrahim against all his enemies but had thrown off the yoke of dependence and decided to shake off the yoke of the Delhi Sultan. He was still deliberating over his plans when death over-took him.

Daryā K. must have died shortly after the open rebellion of the Afghans against Ibrāhim Lodi in the eastern provinces which, according to Dr. Qānūngo, occurred in 1521. It is difficult to find support for this definite assertion although others¹ have also accepted it perhaps on the basis of a hint furnished by Farishta. We don't know the date of Daryā Khan's success against Islām K. in the region of Lucknow, nor of the Rānā's victory over Miyān Mākhan, or Hussain Formuli's murder at Chanderi, nor that of the death of Miyān² Bhowa and Azam Humāyūn etc. But we get a clue in what we are told about the precipitate flight of Dilāwar Khan who covered the distance

1. History of Bengal II gives 1522. According to Farishta, at the time of the final reduction of Qandhar, in 928—1522, Daulat Khan Lodi, being afraid of the king of Delhi sent some one to Kabul to invite Babar to India.

2. The date 925 given by Rampur Cataloguer is in conflict with what the author of T. D. says that when Daulat Khan of Punjab was summoned to Delhi, he wrote to his son there that if Mian Bhowa advised him, he would go.

between Delhi and Lahore in 6 days and in Daulat Khan sending him and Ahmad Khan Sarbani with betel leaves and mangoes soaked in honey, and their arrival at Kabul, after 10 days. They enjoyed the festivities perhaps, in connection with the betrothal¹ of P. Kāmran. After making a full report of confusion and revolts they beseeched Bābar to invade India. This occasioned the fourth invasion of Bābar which occurred in 930 or 1524 (T. B.). The open revolt of the eastern Afghans, shortly before the death of Daryā Khān Nuhāni, must have occurred in 928 or 929.

Daryā K. Nuhāni's name has been mentioned along that of the celebrated Sher Shah in connection with the erection of a domed structure over the tomb of the saint Syed Jaman Madāri. The expression in Hilsa inscription,¹ "Bar-Āwurdah-i-Daryā Khān Zangi Hud Nuhāni Khās Khāil" i.e. brought out by Daryā Khan etc., is significant. The advancement of the great Sur in the service of Daryā's son and grandson is well known, but two relevant incidents linking his name with Daryā himself have been mentioned, with slight variations, by the authors of the W. M. and T. D. They say that when Farid went to Agra he had at first a cold response from Ibrāhim Lodi, despite the efforts of Daulat Khan. He was told to return to Bihar "where Daryā K. was engaged in collecting forces" According to Rizqullah, who does not mention the subsequent grant of a Farman by the Sultan, his brother, Nizām, presented him, on his return, with the sword and turban of their deceased father and then both of them went to Daryā Khan. This latter said "I give you the fort of Chaund; take it, if you can." Farid accepted the offer and was provided with a small contingent. After defeating Muhammad Khan Sur he returned to Daryā Khan. The author of T. D., however, rightly mentions Sultan Muhammad instead of his father Daryā Khan, and puts the incident after the battle of

1. There is nothing improbable in the betrothal of the boy prince (born perhaps in 915—1509) for Babar was betrothed to his cousin Ayasha, when he was only 5 years old. Of course the expression used in the text *Jashn-i-Tawī' in Bāghe-i-Lālā'* does not specifically mean betrothal.

Panipat. One day Daryā Khan asked his cousin, Daulat K. Nuhāni, son of Sher Khan, to undertake work and he found him hesitant. Farid did the work and got the title. The author of T.D., however, tells us that by the time Farid returned, Daryā Khan had died but the promised title was awarded by his son and successor, Bahādur, entitled Sultan Muhammad, especially because Farid had killed a tiger with a stroke of his sword.

The authors of W. M. and T. D. also say that one day Sultan Muhammad Nuhāni seeing Sher Khan engaged in an extra prayer (Nimāz-i-Chāst) remarked "You have taken Sasarām and the fort of Chaund and now you are praying for having Bihar also which is in my possession. Sher Khan replied "when you become the king of Delhi, I shall get Bihar." Ahmad Yādgār also mentions this incident but rightly substitutes Khawāspur Tānda for Chaund. The defeat of Muhammad Khan Sur and temporary occupation of Chaund by Sher Khan was a much later event and was effected not at the instance and with the aid of the Nuhāni Governor of Bihar. The version of Abbās Serwani and Niamatullah are more detailed and correct.

But Rizqullah gives some new and useful information about Bahār Khan who had asserted his independence and established his short-lived dynasty in Bihar and perhaps thought of making a bid for the prize of Delhi sovereignty. We are told that the Omarahs who had fled from the court of Ibrāhim Lodi at Agra gathered around Bahār or Shahbāz² Khan who had soon a force of one lakh at his disposal. Fateh Khan,³ son of Azam Humayun, went with 10,000 from Jaunpur and joined him. He assumed the title of Sultan Muhammad and brought the whole country from Bihar to Sambhal into his possession. The Khutba was read in his name for two years⁴ and some

1. See the writer's article in "C. P. and P." Calcutta, and "Current Studies", Patna.

2. The name is given by Ahmad Yādgār and also by Farishta. He has also been called Bahādur.

3. T. S. by A. Y.

4. The definite statement is made by Rizqullah. It is difficult to say that Sultan Muhammad Shāh Nuhāni exercised real authority over this vast tract or was the nominal king of Bihar, Jaunpur and other regions in the west.

months. The Sultan sent Mustafā Formuli, the son-in-law of Miyān Muhammad Formuli, with Firoz Khan Sārang Khāni and other Omarahs at the head of a large force against him. Miyan Mustafa devastated Ghāzipur and drove out its Governor, Naseer Khan Nuhāni, who had accepted Sultan Muhammad as his king. Miyān Mustafa entered Bihar and encamped on the Son, but died soon after. Firuz Khan and Shaikh Bāyazid Formuli, the brother of Miyān Mustafā who was also encamped there, heard that the forces of Sultan Muhammad had reached a certain place. They moved out hurriedly and pursued that force up to Kānpura¹ (Arrah district). Fateh Khan son of Āzam Humayun and Naseer Khan were on one side and Firuz Khan and Bāyazad were on the other side of a great river. Sheikh Bāyazid opened the offensive after crossing the river and routed Fateh Khan. He pursued him upto Kānpura which was laid waste. But the men of his army having plundered the booty began to disperse. Naseer Khan was still standing that side with his standard fixed on the ground. Before him the men of the royal force had put forward excuses and melted away.² They included 22 chiefs. He had 30,000 around him. He maintained his stand. In the meantime, Sheikh Bāyazid was told that Firuz Khan and his whole force had fled away. He expressed surprise at this success of the enemies whom he had beaten. He then turned towards Naseer Khan but despite his three attempts he could not dislodge him from his place. Then his men took the reins of his horse and made him withdraw from there. Sheikh Bāyazid proceeded to Bhojpur.³ When he arrived on the bank of the Ganges, news arrived that Daulat Khan Lodi who had

His hold could not but have been uncertain, for the presence of so many powerful chieftains was not conducive to settled government. We cannot ignore the epigraphic and numismatic evidences which speak for the might of Hussain Shahi dynasty of Bengal.

1. There is a Kanpura in Bhabua, Thanas served from Jahanabad P. O. in Shahabad district. But both the Ganges and Son are far from it.

2. Perhaps the scribe has not faithfully recorded the original version and therefore one finds some confusion in the statement.

3. A little to the north of Dumraon on the right bank of the Ganges and to the east of Buxar.

brought Bābar Bādshāh to India had died. This happened in Jan. 1526.

There is no reference in W. M. to the issuing of coins though all other authorities mention it. Nizāmuddin and others agree about the strength of the Afghan confederates of Sultan Muhammed of Bihar and they extend the limit of their sway up to Sambhal. The duration of such ascendancy, as indicated by the mention of the name of the Bihar Sultan in public prayer for 2 years and some months, is very probable. Farishta's and Nizamuddin's "some months" and Niamatullah's "for some time" are vague. Farishta and Nizamuddin would limit the recital of the Khutba to the territory of Bihar and its dependencies. Babar writes "Kannauj with the whole country beyond the Ganges, were entirely in the possession of the refractory Afghans, such as Nasir Khan Lohani, Māruf Fermuli, and a number of other Amirs, who had been in a state of open rebellion for two or three years¹ before the death of Ibrāhim. They elected Bahār Khan, the son of Dara Khan, as their king, and gave him the name of "Sultan Muhammad." (T. B.) It is significant that Babar received a letter from "Jalāl Khan (son of) Bihār Khān Behāri" on April, 1529 implying that Sultan Muhammad had already died some time before.

As for the fight between the Lodi imperialists and the Eastern Afghans, we get very meagre information from Niamatullah, Nizāmuddin and Farishta. The former says "Naseer Khan Nuhāni headed the revolt, fought against the imperial forces, and being defeated returned to him (Sultan Muhammad of Behar)...Sultan Ibrahim sent a numerous force to repel Bahadur (Bihar) Khan. When the two armies met, a desperate action took place. They remained engaged in hostilities for some time. In the meanwhile Dilāwar Khan came from Lahore to the Sultan's court etc. Nizamuddin observes "During the time (when the Khutba was being read in the dominion of Bihar and its appendages in the name of Bahar

1. Ke Pash Az Ibrāhim Do Seh Saal Bāghi shuda budand "Bābar Nama MS. O. P. L., Patna, p. 277."

Khan) the Sultan's forces fought many a battle with them and were resisted and withstood." Farishta writes Naseer Khan Nuhani was defeated by the Sultan's arm. For a few months they read the Khutba in the name of Sultan Muhammad. They fought several times with the imperial forces and came out victorious. At this time, Ghazi Khan (?) son of Daulāt Khān came from Lahore to the court of the king." Babar, a first class authority, practically corroborates the essentials of Rīzqullah's account. He writes "Sultan Ibrahim had sent Mustafa Farmulī and Firuz Khān Sārang Khani, with several other Amirs, against the rebellious Lords of the Purab (East). Mustafa K. had some well-fought and desperate actions with the rebels, and had given them several severe defeats. He had died, however, before the defeat of Ibrāhim (at Panipat, April, 1526) and Shaikh Bāyazid, his younger brother had assumed the command of his forces while Ibrahim was yet on the throne."



Fig. I

Kumāragupta pressing rhinoceros with right foot, taking sword to hit the horn on the animal's head which is raised high.



Fig. II

The Gangā on a mātanganakra which is passing on to her a lotus to be made over as token of satisfaction.

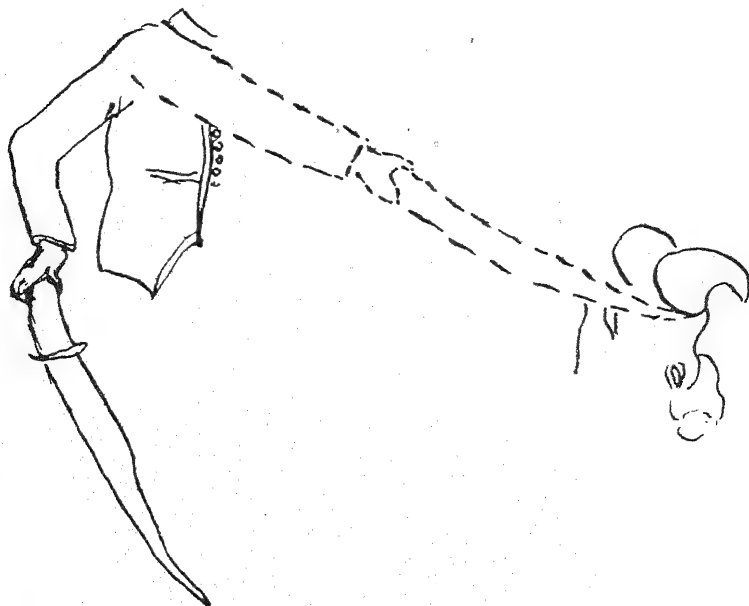


Fig. III

The rider is watching the rhino's head. The total length of his arm and sword would describe an arc which will pass through the horn, on all five coins.

"KHADGA-TRĀTĀ" COINS OF KUMĀRAGUPTA I

By

S. V. Sohoni

The Bayana hoard contained¹ four coins of what has been called, "the rhinoceros slayer type." A fifth piece has recently been described.² One may hope that more would be found.

All these five coins are of Kumāragupta I. This type holds a unique picture on either side: of a king on horse back hunting a rhinoceros (on obverse); and of a river goddess (viz. the Gangā) with her right hand pointing upwards, standing on a crocodile having a long snout and with a female attendant holding a royal umbrella.

There are three main suggestions in this analysis:—

(a) that the rhinoceros was not intended to be killed and was hunted for its horn;

(b) that natural history and popular³ lore about the rhinoceros must be taken into account correctly to appreciate the mint master's intention;

(c) that the Gangā was depicted as a path way leading to heaven; and that most probably, the occasion was a श्राद्ध at Prayāga.

2. Several details are worth noticing about this rhinoceros hunt. It is apparent that Kumāragupta I's mint office paid close attention to natural history.

3. There are three known varieties among rhinoceroses—

(1) The big one-horned rhinoceros, on whose flanks the fold behind the shoulders stops short of the top ridge of the back.

(2) The small one-horned rhinoceros, on whose back the fold behind the shoulders runs right over the top ridge.

1. Dr. A. S. Altekar, Catalogue of the Gupta Gold Coins in the Bayāna Hoard, 1954.

2. J. N. S. I., Vol. XVII, pt. II, pp. 104-106.

3. S. H. Prater, The Book of Indian Animals, pp. 191-194.

(3) The two-horned rhinoceros.

As regards accessibility, the big one-horned rhinoceros is more conveniently hunted. The other two varieties are not found in this country or near its frontiers. The small one-horned rhinoceros is seen in Burmese jungles; and the two-horned species is now confined to the Malay peninsula and Java and is rare elsewhere, it being even doubtful whether it at all survives in Burma and Assam.

4. It is the big one-horned rhinoceros which is shown on Kumāragupta I's coin. Its size can be inferred in a comparison with that of the royal mount. Its distinctive characteristic is also clearly seen—there is no fold carried over the back behind its shoulders.

It is not necessary to hold that Kumāragupta I had to go to Kāmarūpa to hunt a big one-horned rhinoceros. Essentially an inhabitant of forested banks of rivers, this variety is found in Nepal and partly in northern fringes of Tirhut jungles; and in isolated areas in Kāmarūpa. Prater has observed, "Formerly extensively distributed in the Indian Peninsula. Today it is restricted to parts of Nepal and Assam. In Nepal, it is found only in the country to the east of the Gandak River known as Chaintwan, in Assam in isolated areas of the plains."

The rhinoceros of this variety is found even now straying into Champaran jungles in North Bihar, particularly in the forests on the Gandak left bank where that river debouches into the plains.

5. It is more probable that Kumāragupta I's hunt of rhinoceros took place in North Bihar jungles adjoining the Chaintwan region in Nepal, not far away from Vaiśālī, than in distant Assam. A ruler of Pātaliputra would have found this more convenient. Sailing from Pātaliputra, he could have gone upstream the Nārāyaṇī (also called the Gandak or the rhinoceros river) up to Govindganj; and then to Trivenī by the ancient route on which Aśoka has left his pillars. Tīrabhukti-viśaya was almost a home province of early Gupta rulers. Its headquarters at Vaiśālī was only 27 miles from Pātaliputra. A seal

of Kumāragupta I's mother Dhruvaswāmini was found at Vaisali. It is not unlikely that Dhruvaswāmini's children were very familiar with Tirabhukti-viṣaya with all its attractions viz. places sanctified by association with Rāma and Sītā in Mithilā and its famous jungles.

6. It could be safely assumed on account of this variety's extensive distribution in North India centuries ago, that Kumāragupta I could have hunted a big one-horned rhinoceros, much nearer home than in Assam. In a list given by Bāṇa¹ of presents sent from Kāmarūpa for Harsavardhana, no rhinoceros was specifically mentioned, probably, on account of its not being regarded as a rare animal. Secondly, as would presently appear, this factor of distance was a material consideration.

7. A mint master has to think of several aspects before a coin type is decided upon. The space available for showing any drawing on a coin is very small. Having received an imperial order that a rhinoceros should be depicted, care had to be taken to distinguish it from say, a wild boar. This was done by emphasising a very characteristic feature which has been described by Prater in these terms : "on the flanks, shoulders and hind quarters, the skin is studded with masses of rounded tubercles". Our Catalogue refers to these rounded tubercles as "black spots".

8. On the coin, the horseman is shown having taken the safest position while dealing with his rhinoceros. There is ample indication that the rhinoceros had been stalked i.e. followed from behind and taken by surprise. This was not done without good reason. A parallel position would ensure safety, since with its grotesque and heavy build a rhinoceros cannot change its course easily. Further, Prater has noted that this animal is solitary as a rule and has referred to one of its strange habits which helps its enemies : "Along the numerous rivers which flow through the jungles of the Nepal Terai the rhino has particular places for dropping its excreta. Mounds so accumulate in places. In approaching these spots, a rhinoceros walks

1. Bāṇa's Harṣacharita, pp. 217-218.

backwards and so falls on easy victim to poachers."

9. Therefore, the rider came to a sudden halt, moving behind the animal. The horse is shown as prancing on its hind legs—firstly because this is what it does in such circumstances; and secondly, because it was necessary to show its neck away from that of the rhinoceros, to avoid confusion of detail.

10. On the coin, the rhinoceros is shown with its head and its horn raised to their highest point. This was not without a very fundamental reason.

If one were to calculate, using details of this coin drawing, the sweep of the weapon held by the horseman, it is clear that the tip of the weapon would have hit the horn of the rhinoceros with maximum effect. The horseman's right foot is on the rhinoceros' back. This position helps the delivery of the blow. It is clear from all five available coins that the horseman is shown watching the head of the animal and most probably its horn.

11. Whatever that weapon might be, the sharpest edge would have made no difference to the back of the rhinoceros. Judging from the way the weapon is shown as being held by the horseman, it is either resting or is just being moved for making the maximum swing for striking against some object. It is clear that the rhinoceros cannot be killed or even severely injured with a sword blow on its flank, shoulders and hind quarters, in contrast with any other animal similarly struck.

Only the horn was liable to be dismembered. Prater has observed, "The horn is formed of a closely matted mass of horny fibre, issuing from the skin. It has no connection with the skull, although a supporting boss of bone in the skull may serve as its foundation." It grows throughout life and if lost is reproduced. It is prized for its supposed medicinal properties also. Average length is 15 to 16 inches. A male has shorter and thicker horn (as on the coin), blunted in combat.

12. This much is inferred from details known about distribution, physical characteristics and habits of this animal.

13. In minting this curious coin type, what was intended to be impressed on Kumārāgupta I's subjects? "Commemora-

tion" of a successful hunt in Kāmarūpa does not seem to be a satisfactory motive. This animal was not a monopoly of that region. Further, a rhinoceros is far less destructive than a wild elephant; and very much more innocent than a yellow cat like a tiger or lion. It feeds on grass and only during rains it might damage cultivation. It is not a menace to human life.

14. Perhaps an explanation lies in terms of a religious belief associated with this animal. Its flesh and blood were considered highly valuable for use during a śrāddha. Prater remarked, "On ordinary śrādh days the libation of water and milk is poured from a cup carved from its horn."

15. This aspect deserves examination. In his Smṛiti, Manu laid down that flesh of a rhinoceros should be regarded as being fit for a muni (Chapter III 272).¹ Later, he has counted rhinoceros among animals eligible for human consumption (Chapter V. 18);² and an animal killed for conducting religious rituals attained salvation for itself and the performer (Chapter V. 42).³

16. These notions hold good in Nepal even to-day with specific reference to performance of śrāddha. This is also not without other authority. Thus, in Pāraskara Grihya Sūtra it was enjoined that rhinoceros flesh should be used (vide Śrāddha Sūtra Khandikā VIII).⁴ In the Śrāddha Kalpa section of Gobhila Grihya Sūtra, the rhinoceros has been mentioned as first essential requisite of Akshayyatripatiḥ (vide Saptami Khandikā.2.)⁵ In the Yājñavalkya Smṛiti also flesh of a rhinoceros has been referred to as a desirable material for performing a Śrāddha.⁶

1. कालशाकं महाशल्काः खड्गलोहामिषं मधुः ।

आनन्त्यायैव कल्पन्ते मुन्यन्नानि च सर्वशः ॥

2. इवाविध शल्यकं गोषां खड्कूर्मं शशास्तथा ।

भक्ष्यान्यञ्च नखेष्वहुरनघ्राश्चैकतोदतः ॥

3. एवथेषु पशुर्निहसन्वेदतत्त्वार्थं विद्विजः ।

आत्मानं च पशुं चैव गमयत्युत्तमां गतिम् ॥

4. अथाक्षय्यं तृप्तिः । खड्गमांसम् ।

5. अथाक्षय्यं तृप्तिः (१) । खड्गाः ।

6. खड्गमिषं महाशल्कं मधुमुन्यन्नमवच ।

लोहामिषं महाशाकं मांसं बाह्वीणसस्य च ॥

Yājñavalkya proceeded to say that

यद्दाति गयास्थश्च सर्वमानन्त्यन श्रुते ।

तथा वर्षा त्रयोदश्यां मघासु च विशेषतः ॥ (२६१)

By saying that गयास्थश्च other places were also intended; and in the मिताक्षराव्याख्या on this stanza was observed¹ that other places like Gangādvāra and Prayāga were also referred to.

17. This reference to performance of Śrāddha at Gangādvāra and Prayāga is important.

There is no doubt that the Gangā was shown on the reverse of this rhinoceros coin. Some clue to that goddess' gesture is furnished by these lines from Kālidāsa

(1) तीर्थतोय व्यतिकरमेव जह्नु कन्या सरय्वोर्देहं त्यागादभरणनामासाद्य सद्यः (RV. XIII. 57)

(2) समुद्रपत्न्योर्जलं संनिपाते पूतात्मनामत्र किलाभिषेकात् ।

तत्त्वाव बोधेन विनापि भूयस्तनुत्यजानास्ति शरीरबन्धः ॥

(RV. XIII. 58)

(3) जह्नुः कन्यां सगर तनय स्वर्गसोपानपङ्क्तिम् ।

(Meghadoota 54)

The river goddess is shown standing on an elephant headed crocodile. This was to identify the river as a Samudrapatni, riding on a matanganakra. Kālidāsa has stated, using that very phrase of तनुत्यजः

अकारोत्स तदौर्ध्वदैहिकं पितृभक्त्या पितृ कल्पवित् ।

नहि तेन पथा तनु त्यजस्तनया वर्जित पिण्डकाक्षिणः ॥

Performance of a Śrāddha was a duty which Kumāragupta I could not have avoided. Using materials taken from a rhinoceros, was expected during a Śrāddha. Kumāragupta I only took its horn.

I should add that in Nepal it is common practice that those who want to perform Śrāddha have themselves to hunt a rhinoceros.

18. But a coin must be read in terms of not only what it de-

1. च शब्दात् गंगाद्वारादिषु च ।

गंगाद्वारे प्रयागे च नैमिषे पुष्करे अबुधे

संनिहत्या गयायां च श्राद्धं अक्षय्यतां व्रजेत् ॥

picts but of what is specifically inscribed on it i.e. according to its legends.

Certain points stand out prominently.

19. There is no reference to either any valour being performed or any slaying being done, in sharp contrast with legends on coins showing a tiger or lion hunt. No parākrama¹ was claimed nor any description as a Nihantā.² No large title like Mahārājādhirāja or any poetic reference has been incorporated e. g. of Kumāragupta being a moon³ on this world or of his⁴ dynasty.

20. The obverse legend on this rhinoceros type coin has its initial word or phrase obscured. Only the last letter in that word or phrase is visible and even our 5th coin does not clear⁵ this detail. Dr. Altekar has suggested restoring this word as “भर्ता”⁶. I do not see how this restoration is at all possible. Firstly, this word is never used in any Gupta coin legend. Secondly, there seems to be more space left than would be occupied if only this word were to exist. Thirdly, if there were a word ending with त् it could have been अजितः also, as this word or its variant occurs so frequently on Kumāragupta’s coins. But this is “tta” and not “ta” on one out of five coins; and if it represents a word ending on Rta it could be some other word e.g. Hartā or Kartā also.

21. An important part of this coin legend is ‘Khadgatrātā’. Dr. Altekar has suggested⁷ that, “The unknown author of the metrical legend makes a pun on the word Khadga and describes the emperor as ‘Bhartā Khadgatrātā Kumāraguptā jayatyānisam’; ‘Ever victorious is the lord Kumāragupta, who is khadgatrātā, protector by the sword (khadgenatrātā), as well as protector from rhinoceroses (khadgebhyastrātā)’”.

One may readily agree that there are occasionally puns in Gupta coin legend. A well known example is, “क्षितिमवजित्य

1. Bayāna Catalogue, p. 277.
2. Bayāna Catalogue, p. 294.
3. Bayāna Catalogue, p. 242.
4. Bayāna Catalogue, p. 248.
5. Bayāna Catalogue, p. 298.
6. Bayāna Catalogue, p. CVII.
7. Ibid.

दिवं जयति सुचरितै विक्रमादित्यः”, which involves reference to the rising Sun as well as to a king whose power is responsible for increasing public welfare. But I submit that there are good reasons for holding that there was no pun on the word खग.

22. Nor is there much help from a comparable legend on what has been turned “elephant type rider” coin, about which Dr. Altekar has remarked,¹ “The obverse legend is most probably Kshataripurājatrātā Kumāragupta jayati ripun, Kumāragupta, whose enemies have been destroyed, and who protects feudatory kings, conquers the enemies.”

A metrical legend is more compact and would not commit a mistake of inconsistency between enemies having been already destroyed and enemies remaining under conquest.

23. There are, however, certain dependable parts of both obverse and reverse legends on this rhinoceros type coin which are definitely of value in making its appreciation. The reverse legend is Sri-Mahendra Khadgah. Dr. Altekar has translated it as, “rhinoceros (killed by) Mahendra. “This conclusion, placed within brackets, is not tenable. It is inconsistent with a definite phrase put on the obverse viz. “Khad-gatrātā.” This phrase could certainly mean, “protecting a rhinoceros.” Kumāragupta does not claim to be a Khadga Nihantā (as done for a lion on his lion hunt type coin.)

24. That this was proper interpretation, is conclusively proved by a remarkable stanza of Kālidāsa in Canto IX of the Raghuvansam devoted to a remarkable description of Daśaratha’s hunting in his forests.

प्रायो विषाण परिमोक्षलघूतमांगान्खिङ्गाश्चकार नृपतिर्निशितैः क्षुरप्रैः ।

शृगं सदृप्तं विनयाधिकृतः परेषामयुच्छितं न ममृषे न तु दीर्घमायुः ॥

(RV. IX. 62)

Kālidāsa would have it that Dasaratha did not kill rhinoceroses but only removed their horns as he merely wanted to put down those who raised their tops (or heads) too high due to pride.

25. Our coin is perfect numismatic parallel of this stanza, In fact, I would not be surprised (should a speculation be permitted), if hunting in all its variety of animal, described in this supremely beautiful Canto were found to have corresponding coin types besides those relating to rhinoceros, tiger and lion, so far discovered. Based on healthy contemporary outlook on advantages of hunting, this description has for its central principles, restraint and discrimination. Thus the deer and the peacock are not even touched. The yak loses only its tail; and the rhinoceros, only its horn. The wild buffalo is shot through the eye as the pair of horns must be preserved. In the tigers' mouths are lodged arrows as would make them into quivers; and the lions¹ are killed as if to cancel the debts owed to the war elephants. The mintmaster clearly paid his tribute to Kālidāsa.

26. Is it without significance that these three coin types of Kumāragupta I viz खड्ग जाता type,, व्याघ्रबल पराक्रम type and सिंह निहंता महेंद्र गज type should have been so clearly explained in four consecutive stanzas devoted to hunting these three kinds of animals in this superb Canto IX of Kālidāsa's Raghuvansam? A close relation between an extremely rare rhinoceros protection type coin and stanza No. 62 in that canto is not without some bearing on Kālidāsa's chronology.

27. Kālidāsa has referred to "क्षुद्र" as the weapon used to slice off the horns of rhinoceroses and not "खड्ग". I suggest that even on our coin there is a small curvature at the other extremity and that "खड्ग" has been used in the legend strictly to mean a rhinoceros.

28. If this analysis were broadly correct, it would mean that—

(1) Kumāragupta I is shown about to cut off the horn of a rhinoceros, but deliberately sparing that animal's life. He was

1. Prater has noted that the lion was once found over the whole of Northern and Central India as far south as the Narbadā. Kumāragupta I need not have gone to Saurāstra to kill lions. Similarly tigers are also found outside Bengal.

This explains how a king of Ayodhyā like Dasaratha could deal with a mixed assortment like lions, tigers, rhinos and yaks.

a बृंहर्ता as well as a खड्ग त्राता

(2) In accordance with a law of corresponding qualities e.g. strength of tiger or prowess of a lion being excelled by the king, as on the tiger or lion slayer coins, the wellknown belief about the rhinoceros possessing a very long life led to this coins reverse legend of श्री महेन्द्रखड्गः, implying that Kumāragupta I had even a longer life. This claim probably turned true.

(3) This coin strikingly brought out that Kumāragupta I would permit nobody keeping his head high in front of him i.e. would sharply deal with every form of haughtiness.

(4) The rhinoceros horn was useful during a श्राद्ध to ancestors. The Gangā indicated a road to Heaven. The coin was minted in early part of Kumāragupta I's reign. His hair are fuller on head here than on other coins. His figure is also more youthful. Hence his rhinoceros protector type coin might have been struck soon after he succeeded his father. That animal had definite associations with performance of a श्राद्ध. This coins thus throws some light on Kumāragupta's succession.



Fig. I



Fig. II



A



B



C



D



E

Fig. III

E is based on apratigha coin type; and rest on other coins.

APRATIGHA COIN TYPE OF KUMĀRAGUPTA I

By

S. V. Sohoni

Until 8 more specimens were found in 1946, only one piece of this type, bought at Mathura, was available; and about a pictorial representation on its obverse, there were at least four theories—

(1) Hoernle¹ thought, "It showed three standing figures which appeared to represent the Buddha, worshipped by two women." It was, however, not understood why the Buddha should be worshipped by two women only and why all of them should remain standing.

(2) Vincent Smith² was of opinion that, "The legend showed that the obverse central figure is the King and the females must certainly be his consorts." But against this view, one could have even then raised an objection viz. why should a king be shown as being physically smaller than either of his two queens.

(3) Allan,³ while remarking that this type was a puzzle, had held, "The central figure is Indian in style while the two others are quite foreign, female figure to right closely resembling Minerva."

(4) I had hazarded a guess earlier⁴ that this picture was suggested by a coin of Huviska⁵ showing three figures viz. of Śkanda, Viśākha and Mahāsena standing on a platform—all three being recognised to be different names of Kumāra, in a later period. On assumption that there was no longer any justification or need to reproduce Kārtikeya at one place under various names, I thought that what was realised to be superfluous in the

1. Proc. A. S. B. 1883, p. 144.

2. IRAS 1888 p. 107.

3. B. M. C., Gupta Dynasty, p. XCII.

4. Sachchidanad Sinha

Commemoration volume, 1943, pp. 177-178.

5. P. M. C. pt. XX7 (Vol. I). I had first drawn attention to this point. Cf. Bayana Cat., pCXII.

Huviska coin type had to be replaced; and that the remaining two figures might be two wives of Kārtikeya, central figures in both coins having shown considerable correspondence in appearance and attitude.

2. Eight more coins of this type were found in 1946 from a "nidhānakalasa" at Bayana. Their examination has led so far to a number of theories—

(1) Mmp. Mirashī⁶ thought that the central figure was of some saint; and the other two were the King and his Queen who had gone to consult that saint.

(2) According to Dr. Majumdar,⁷ the central figure was Siva; and the male and female figures Nandi and Pārvati, respectively.

(3) Dr. Altekar⁸ has interpreted this scene to consist of Kumāragupta I being unsuccessfully persuaded, "by his queen and general or crown-prince," not to give up his throne. He added, "Kumāragupta was firm in his resolve and is therefore described on the reverse as invincible."

(4) Dr. B. P. Sinha also holds that an abdication question was being debated; and that this discussion was shown as being held between Kumāragupta I and his two queens—"We have on the coin the two queens of Kumāragupta in high temper arguing with the king in their conflicting self interest for their respective sons, and each might have been trying to persuade the king not to retire, but to strengthen the claims of their sons. But Kumāragupta was determined to follow his decision and hence the legend Apratigha."

3. While these eight new pieces have not enabled a final decision, they have supplied some clearer details than were available earlier from a single coin, about all three standing figures and about some parts of the obverse legend. Subject to any clarification which a complete reading of that legend would give, I venture to suggest that a correct approach is: (a) to examine

6. J. N. S. I. XI p. 64; XII, p. 68.

7. J. N. S. I. XII, p. 72.

8. J. N. S. I. X pp. 115-116; and Bayana Cat, p. CXII.

9. J. N. S. I. XVI, p. 214.

dependable parts of the pictorial representation; (b) to take into account a total impression produced by details on both the obverse and the reverse; and (c) also to judge results according to some very elementary considerations. Admittedly, this can be only a pedestrian analysis—and I do not claim it to be anything more.

4. Firstly, about the central figure. Since "Kumāra" has been clearly written along side, it must ultimately be taken to refer to Kumāragupta I. This figure, accordingly, can neither be the Buddha nor a saint. "Kumāra" is, however, equally clearly, without any regalia of either dress or ornament; and has his hair tied into a ball which on a Buddha figure could justifiably have been described as "a protuberance on his head."¹⁰ As there is no Buddha but Kumāra, it can only be hair tied up that way.

It is equally clear that he is saluting somebody¹¹ with his hands folded, elbows away from his waist.

The distance between him and the other two persons is negligible. For this reason, *ordinarily*, it should be inferred that Kumāra was intended to be shown as younger than both of them. Since he is the youngest and is also saluting somebody, it would not be unreasonable to assume that he is doing a *vandanā* to either one or both the individuals so near him.

If this were correct, these other two persons could not be two queens, or a general and a queen, or a crown-prince and a queen, or even Pārvati and Nandi.

Some more details about this central figure may be noted. He is dressed in a *dhōti* whose plaits run near to the floor but which is not covering his legs. Secondly, his ear lobes are hanging, without any ornament. Thirdly, he has no upper garments—his navel is visible at least on one coin.¹² Fourthly, his *dhōti* is of rough material as its waist-line is so prominent.

5. It is important to consider consequences of how a *garuḍa-dhwaja* has been located. It is to Kumāra's right. This stan-

* The full legend is, "Kumara gupta".

10. Bayana Cat. p. 303.

11. Bayana Cat. pt. XXXI coin No. II.

12. Ibid, coin No. 8.

dard has *not* been held by anybody—certainly not by that figure standing to Kumāra's proper right. As has been pertinently observed by Dr. B.P. Sinha, this standard is not shown as being held in hand by any one, (including a Gupta king or his attendant) on Gupta coins. Further, nobody can balance a heavy stick like that, fingers not even touching it. There is yet one other significant detail. The eagle on this standard has been shown with his wings spread outstretched more upwards than shown on any other Gupta coin. It is taking to its wings—is about to start for a long flight, as it were. This was consciously intended, since within such a limited space as that between the heads of Kumāra and the figure to his proper right, an eagle could *also* have been fitted, had its wings *not* been raised but kept folded according to conventional drawing on earlier coins. (Fig. III)

6. Thus, whoever is to Kumāra's proper right is not holding a garuda-dhwaja. Nor is he holding a shield.

What has been mistaken for a shield is really his left arm held exactly as the figure in front of him is holding her left arm.

What has been shown is a symmetrical drawing—only with this difference that this figure to Kumāra's right is of somewhat bigger build.

There is yet another reason why I think that he is not holding a shield. Why should a person hold a shield with or on his left hand and hold nothing in his right hand, while dealing with a person standing to his left, who is younger in age and is also probably saluting him; and while facing what is admittedly a lady, who is equally weaponless?

That he is a man seems to be clear from his body's build—his arms and legs are obviously shown bigger than those of the lady standing in front of him; and undoubtedly, he is also taller than her.

He is not wearing a peaked cap. It is true that there is nearest resemblance to it on one coin¹³ but all others show that he has matted hair tied in a knot.

A further proof that a man is shown here lies in this figure's

13. Ibid coin No. 11.

wearing a dhoti; which (like that on Kumāra) has its plaits coming near to the floor but not covering his legs. That it is made of rough material seems to be clearly indicated by a big knot on his waist-line.

7. There is common agreement in respect of the third figure being a lady. Her hair are tied up in a bunch on top. Unlike saris worn by other ladies shown on Gupta coins,¹⁴ her sari's folds fall not so close to the floor and it is of rough material.

8. The two figures in front of Kumāra are dressed as nearly alike as a man and wife would look, living a common life and wearing a dhoti and sari respectively, made of similar material. This similarity is increased by their holding themselves, particularly their right and left arms, in exactly similar posture.

Taking into account these details, all of which are based on a careful *ensemble* derived from these eight pieces, I conclude that an important enough youth—he occupies the centre—is shown saluting an old couple—their flabby muscles may be noted; and that both husband and wife are responding to his salutation with benevolent admiration. (Fig. I).

9. This conclusion runs counter to an argument based on what has been called *dynāna mudrā* of Kumāra, and *vitarka-mudrā* of these two persons standing in front of him and alleged implications of the epithet, 'apratigha'.

A *dhyāna-mudrā* is formed by bringing the inside of a palm on to one's chest, with its thumb and either the index or middle finger together forming a circle, remaining three fingers being kept straight. There is no evidence of any *dnyāna-mudrā*, on these coins.

Nor is there any sufficient basis to hold that there was *vitarka-mudrā* shown by the couple standing in front of Kumāra. This *mudrā* is formed by a thumb completing a circle with either an index or a little finger; and the palm facing away, with other fingers held straight. There is no proof whatever that fingers of their right palm are being held in this manner.¹⁵

14. Bayana Cat. plates XLIV and XLV.

15. Bharatā kosa by Ramakrishna Kavi, p. 608.

10. Further consideration of this point is necessary as it helps more accurate appreciation.

The gesture and the pose of the lady may be compared with that of Sashṭi on the Yaudheya coins¹⁶ (figure II). It would appear that they are absolutely identical—and nobody has ever suggested that Sashṭi was conducting any arguments, all by herself. The Yaudheyas wanted to show on their coin their patron deity viz. Kumāra and his wife viz. Sashṭi, blessing them.

This also explains why Allan had thought that there was some resemblance to Minerva. For this stance was adopted from Greek motifs, initially.

11. Accordingly, no discussion, doubt or debate was intended to be shown.

In these circumstances, it is not possible to subscribe to any view that Kumāragupta I was debating any problem, much less his abdication either with his queen and commander-in-chief, or with his two queens or with a queen and a crown-prince.

One would have been justified in rejecting such a conclusion, even on *prima facie* grounds. Firstly, it would have been bad public relations policy. No council of ministers worth its salt would ever have agreed to such exposure of a dispute, which should necessarily have been treated as confidential and every care taken to keep quiet about it. Further, assuming that Kumāragupta's decision was irrevocable, which successor would have so advertised it and remained nameless on this dumb document of metal; and yet exhibited on a royal gold coin, any such debate much less with a label that Kumāragupta I proved obstinate and had decided to give up his throne? Secondly, any idea of abdication was inconsistent either with a representation of a royal eagle standard having an eagle about to start on its flight, or of a resplendent Lakshmi (as shown on reverse). Finally, why should all 8 specimens of this coin type be found so much removed from their mint condition in a hoard which is said¹⁷

16. Allan B. M. C., Ancient India plate XI. No. 1 and J. N. S. I. pp. 29-32.

17. Bayana Cat p. XXIV; and J. N. S. I. VI, p. 217.

to have been buried quite close to the end of Kumāragupta I's reign as to have but a single coin of any of his successors, if the type were associated with his alleged irrevocable decision of abdication i.e. with his very last year as king ?

12. What then was intended by this pictorial composition ? It would be safe to assume that a possibility could not be ignored that whatever it was, it might not have been inconsistent with mythology of Kumāra—as such use of that mythology has been noticed on some other coin types of Kumāragupta I. Secondly, it would not be deemed unreasonable to assume that Kumāragupta I's mint master was intelligent enough to make a pictorial representation where incident and atmosphere had an integrity of their own.

On basis of these two factors, it is possible to understand this scene, after taking into account details derived from all available coins of this type. What is yielded is a simple explanation viz. that Kumāragupta I's mint master had referred to Kumāra visiting Kasyapa and Aditi before setting out to fight Tāraka.

13. This dramatic incident has been beautifully narrated by Kālidāsa in his Kumārasambhavam (Canto XIII verses 21, 44, 45 and 46)—

दिव्यर्षयः शत्रुविजेष्यमाणं तमभ्यनन्दन्किल नारदाद्याः ।

निहंछन् चक्रुश्चोत्तरीयैश्चामीकरीरैर्निजवल्कलैश्च ॥ 21 ॥

पादौ महर्षेः किल कश्यपस्य कुलादिवृद्धस्य सुरासुराणाम् ।

प्रदक्षिणीकृत्य कृतांजलिः सन्षड्भिः शिरोभिः स नतैर्वन्दे ॥ 44 ॥

स देवमातुर्जगदेक वन्ध्वी पादौ तथैव प्रणनाम कामम् ।

मुनेः कलत्रस्य च तस्य भक्त्या प्रह्वी भवं शैल सुता तनूजः ॥ 45 ॥

स कश्यपः सा जननी सुराणां तमेधयामास तुरा शिषा द्वौ ।

तया यया नैक जगज्जिगीषुं जेता मृषे तारकमुग्रवीर्यम् ॥ 46 ॥

Kumāra's change of dress* is due to 'निहंछन्' done by rishis immediately before he visited Kasyapa. Mallinātha, quoting

* cf. also Śākuntalam Act I:—

राजा (अवतीर्य) सूत, विनीत वेषेण प्रवेष्टव्यानि तपोवनानि नाम ।
इवं तावद् गृह्यताम् । (इति सूतस्याभरणानि धनुश्चोपनीयानि) ।

Medini, has explained what is meant by a practice of निहंछनम् ।

निहंछनं बन्धुतायै वाससः परिवर्तनम् इति । लोकेऽपि भ्रातृतायै परस्पर-
स्योष्णिग्बन्धन व्यवहारस्तद्वत्वापीति अनुशासने सामान्यतो वासोग्रहेण न प्रकृत
उत्तरीय ग्रहणं ग्रहणं संगच्छते । लोक व्यवहारस्तु संप्रदाय सिद्धः । उष्णिहि
विशेष श्रेष्ठोपलम्भ एव व्यवहारमूलमिति मन्तव्यम् ।

14. That is why Kumāra's dress resembled that of Kasyapa. All three (Kumāra, Kasyapa and Aditi) wore valkalas. Kumāra is shown as कृताञ्जलिः (vide K.S. S Canto XIII 44). Kasyapa and Aditi are shown as giving Kumāra their blessings for the conquest of all three worlds.

This interpretation may explain why, on reverse, goddess Lakshmi has been shown sitting firmly on a lotus in full bloom, with her right hand pointing towards four dots representing राज्यलक्ष्मी, स्वर्गलक्ष्मी, ब्राह्मीलक्ष्मी and जयलक्ष्मी The idea was recovery of complete prosperity viz. अनूना लक्ष्मी (K.S. XIII 51).

15. This view is consistent with the results of whatever progress has so far been made in reading the legend on the obverse.¹⁸ It appears that there are at least two dependable portions on the obverse, in addition to what has been read as "apratigha" on the reverse. One phrase has been determined by Mmp. Mirashi as "प्रताप परमाधारः"; and the portion which follows immediately has been held to be "श्रीप्रथमपराक्रमवपुः". Dr. Altekar has observed that "श्रीप्रथम" was 'fairly clear'. These readings do not by any means contradict, but actually nourish, whatever has been suggested in this analysis. As regards occurrence of 'apratigha' on the reverse, there is no doubt whatever that it is precisely such an adjective which fits in so well with a representation of a military leader being blessed by a sage and his wife. On such a coin, where there is an obvious consciously planned pointer to a resemblance to a Divine Commander being blessed by a holy couple and where there is so much of valour referred to even in such portions of legend read as reliable so far,

¹⁸. Bayana Cat., pp. CXI-CXII.

'apratigha' can never mean 'determined to abdicate.' It has only one implication viz. 'being irresistible in war'.

16. If this were broadly correct, it would mean that such a coin type does not focus attention on the concluding years of Kumāragupta I's reign. It is more probable that it refers to a stage of his initial military adventures.

17. Whether Kumāragupta I had been blessed by such a couple corresponding to Kasyapa and Aditi giving *āshirvāds* to Kumāra before he fought Tāraka, is not known. Nor is this quite essential. He, or those around him, could be said to have been fond of alluding to Kārtikeya, as other coins prove. Making such oblique and direct references was a subtle art, assiduously practised in that age. There is, however, some reference to one of Kumāragupta's teachers, in a Buddhist account and in a verse explained by Vāmana.

18. But even more important is a consequence to Kālidāsa's chronology. While there were many accounts of Kumāra's proceeding to fight Tāraka, his meeting Kasyapa and Aditi after a change of clothes was Kālidāsa's characteristic and original contribution¹⁹ (vide his narration in the Kumārasambhavam) which proves a direct link between that literary passage and this coin type. Elimination of Tāraka was the central purpose for which Kumāra was born. In that achievement his career reached its fulfilment. To associate ethics with starting a big war was sound policy. That was why, among other reasons, Kālidāsa introduced this incident of Kasyapa and Aditi giving their blessing to Kumāra. How could a mint master of Kumāragupta I neglect these aspects and remain content with depicting merely Kumāra riding a peacock? Implications of this and allied matters have been examined by me elsewhere.

19. e.g. in Śiva Purāṇa and Skānda Purāṇa.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

Proceedings of the meeting of the Council of the Bihar Research Society and the K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute held on the 15th July at 6. p.m. in the Society's Council room.

Present.

1. Dr. K. K. Datta (in the Chair).
2. Dr. A. S. Altekar.
3. Shri S. A. Shere.
4. Dr. B. N. Prasad.
5. Shri Yogendra Mishra,
6. Dr. B. P. Sinha.

In the absenec of the Vice-President Dr. K. K. Datta was voted to the Chair.

1. The proceedings of the meeting of the Council held on the 4th June 1955 were confirmed.

2. The monthly accounts for the month of June, 1955 were passed subject to usual audit.

3. The Revised Budget for the year 1955-56 and Budget Estimate for the year 1956-57 were passed.

4. The following ladies and gentlemen were elected as ordinary members of the Society:—

(1) Shri Chakradhar Prasad, Lecturer, Motihari College, Motihari.

(2) Mrs. Reva Chatterjee, C/o Shri S. C. Chatterjee, 19 Friends Colony, Mathura Road, New Delhi.

(3) Mrs. Aruna Haldar, Lecturer, Women's College, Patna.

(4) Shri Mangal Behari Sharan Sinha, Research Scholar, Patna University.

It was decided to inform Shri Bhagawati Prasad to re-submit his application for ordinary membership of the Society duly proposed and seconded by members.

5. Arrangements for the next annual general meeting were discussed in detail. It was decided to hold it early in

August and to fix the exact date of the meeting in consultation with Dr. J. N. Banerjee.

6. Letter No. 826/4 P. 2—55 dated the 9th July 1955 from the Director, Mithila Research Institute, was read. The Council resolved that it regrets inability to loan out the Manuscript of the Vishnu Purana to the Mithila Research Institute. It was further decided to ask other similar Institutes whether they loan out their Manuscripts.

7. It was resolved to hold the next meeting of the Council in the last week of July and fix the date between 26 and 27 in consultation with Shri S. V. Sohoni.

B. P. Sinha

Honorary Joint Secretary.

Proceedings of the meeting of the Council of the Bihar Research Society and the K.P. Jayaswal Research Institute held on 3rd August 1955 at 6.p.m. in the Society's Council room.

Present

1. Dr. K. K. Datta (in the Chair),
2. Dr. A. S. Altekar.
3. Shri S. A. Shere.
4. Shri S. H. Askari.
5. Dr. B. P. Sinha.
6. Shri S. V. Sohoni.

In the absence of the Vice-President Dr. K. K. Datta was elected to the Chair for the meeting.

1. The proceedings of the meeting of the Council held on the 15th July, 1955 were confirmed.

2. The following persons were elected as ordinary members of the Society:—

(i) Shri Rambahadur Mishra, Lecturer, Govt. Sanskrit College, Ranchi.

(ii) Dr. Miss Anima Sengupta, Lecturer, Magadh Mahila College, Patna.

(iii) Shri S. Mobinuddin "Raz" C/o Prof. Nurul Huda, B. N. College, Patna.

(iv) Shri S. N. Singh, Lecturer, Ramdayalu Singh College, Muzaffarpur.

3. Dr. Altekar, Hony. Director, K. P. J. Research Institute explained the scheme of writing of history of Bihar. It was resolved that an Adhoc Editorial Board may be formed consisting of Dr. Altekar, Dr. Datta and Professor Askari for preparing an outline of the project and for suggesting contributors and for taking such action in the meanwhile as would be necessary, in furtherance of the project. The outline would be circulated to the members of the Council, when it is ready, for consideration by a meeting of the Council, in due course.

4. It was resolved that Government be requested to make provision of funds for purchase of one dozen steel almirahs for the Society. It was also requested that suitable repairs to the Society rooms should be carried out by the P. W. D. and that there should be iron bars put in the windows of the Society's library rooms.

5. The following names were recommended to be proposed as office bearers and members of the Council for the year 1955-56.

| | |
|--------------------|---|
| President— | Shri R. R. Diwakar, Governor of Bihar. |
| Vice-President— | Dr. S. K. Sinha, Chief Minister, Bihar. |
| Secretary— | Shri S. V. Sohoni, I.C.S. |
| Joint Secretary— | Dr. B. P. Sinha, M.A., Ph. D. |
| Treasurer— | Shri S. A. Shere, M.A. |
| Librarian— | Dr. T. Chowdhury, M.A., Ph. D. |
| Chief Editor— | Dr. K. K. Datta, M.A., Ph. D., P. R. S. |
| Associate Editors— | Shri S. H. Askari, M.A., B.L. |
| | Dr. B. P. Sinha, M.A., Ph. D. |
| | Shri Yogendra Mishra, M.A. |

Editorial Board—

Dr. T. Chowdhury, M.A., Ph. D.
 Dr. B. N. Prasad, M.A., Ph. D.
 Dr. P. L. Vaidya, M.A., Ph. D.
 Dr. Satakari Mukherjee, M.A., Ph. D.
 Dr. A. S. Altekar, M.A., LL. B., D. Litt.

Members of the Council (in addition to the President, Secretary, Treasurer, and Librarian who are ex-officio members).

Chief Justice Shri S. K. Das, I.C.S.
 Dr. K. K. Datta, M.A., Ph. D., P.R.S.
 Justice Shri S. C. Mishra, M.A., B. L.
 Shri S. H. Askari, M.A., B.L.
 Justice Shri Naqui Imam, Bar-at-law.
 Dr. A. S. Altekar, M.A., LL. B., D. Litt.
 Dr. S. C. Chatterjee, M.Sc., D.Sc.
 Dr. B. N. Prasad, M.A., Ph. D.
 Dr. B. B. Mishra, M.A., Ph. D.
 Dr. B. P. Sinha, M.A., Ph. D.

Shri Sachchidananda, M.A.

Educaton Secretary, Director of Public Instruction, Superintendent of Archaeology, Central Circle, Directors of Nalanda Pali Institute, Mithila Research Institute and K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute to be ex-officio members of the Governing Council of the Society for transaction of the business of the Kashi Prasad Jayaswal Research Institute.

6. The rules of the Bihar Research Society were formulated in the year 1915. Some amendments were proposed by the Joint Secretary and the Council approved the proposal to be placed in the annual general meeting for discussion.

7. The appointment of Miss Mamata Dasgupta on the prescribed scale of pay as a steno-typist of the K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute in connection with the Bihar History Project was approved, as recommended by the Honorary Director.

Honorary Joint Secretary.

Proceedings of the annual general meeting (business portion) of the Bihar Research Society and the K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute held on the 8th August 1955 at 6. 30. p. m. in the Physics Lecture Theatre, Science College, Patna.

In absence of the President Dr. K. K. Datta was elected to the Chair.

(1). The following gentlemen were elected as office bearers and the members of the Council for the year 1955-56.

President— Shri R. R. Diwakar, Governor of Bihar.

Vice-President— Dr. S. K. Sinha, Chief Minister, Bihar.

Secretary— Shri S. V. Sohoni, I. C. S.

Joint Secretary— Dr. B. P. Sinha, M.A., Ph. D.

Treasurer— Shri S. A. Shere, M.A. (Lond.).

Librarian— Dr. T. Chowdhury, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.).

Chief Editor— Dr. K. K. Datta, M.A., Ph.D, P. R. S.

Associate Editors:—

Shri S. H. Askari, M.A., B. L.

Dr. B. P. Sinha, M.A., Ph. D. (Lond.)

Shri Yogendra Mishra, M.A.

Editorial Advisory Board:—

Dr. T. Chowdhury, M.A., Ph. D.

Dr. B. N. Prasad, M.A., Ph. D.

Dr. A. S. Altekar, M.A., LL.B., D.Litt.

Dr. Satkari Mukherjee, M.A., Ph.D.

Dr. P. L. Vaidya, M.A., Ph.D.

Members of the Council (in addition to the President, Vice-President, Secretary, Treasurer and Librarian who are ex-officio members).

Dr. K. K. Datta, M.A., Ph. D., P. R. S.

Justice Shri S. C. Mishra, M.A., B.L.

Justice Shri Naqui Imam, Bar-at-law,

Shri S. H. Askari, M.A., B. L.

Dr. S. C. Chatterji, M.Sc., D.Sc.

Dr. A. S. Altekar, M.A., LL.B., D.Litt.

Dr. B. N. Prasad, M.A., Ph. D.

Dr. B. P. Sinha, M.A., Ph. D.

Dr. B. B. Mishra, M.A., Ph. D.

Shri Sachchidanand, M.A.

Education Secretary, Director of Public Instruction, Superintendent of Archaeology, Central Circle, Directors of Nalanda Pali Institute, Mithila Research Institute and the K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute to be ex-officio members of the Council for transaction of the business of the K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute.

2. The proposal of Hony. Joint Secretary in connection with the amendment of the rules of the Society in respect of following items were accepted:—

Item No. 1. The word "Orissa" was dropped and now the name of the Society shall be the Bihar Research Society.

Item No. 4. In stead of a Vice-President now there will be one or more than one Vice-presidents.

Item No. 20. Editorial Board—The Editorial Board shall consist of three members of the Council or as much as may be appointed by the Council of which one would be the Chief Editor and the rest Associate Editors. There shall also be an Editorial Advisory Board consisting of the Directors of the Research Institutes of Bihar viz. the Directors of the K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Nalanda Pali Institute and Mithila Research Institute as its ex-officio members, besides those who will be appointed by the Council.

Item No. 32—Meeting of the Council shall be summoned by the Secretary or the Joint Secretary whenever the business of the Society requires a meeting to be held.

Appendix 1—Rules of the Library—12. The Library shall be closed on Thursday and all public holidays.

3. The annual accounts for the year 1954-55 were passed.

B. P. Sinha

Hon. Joint Secretary.

THE JOURNAL OF THE BIHAR RESEARCH SOCIETY

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{ PART 4

THE CULT OF BRAHMĀ

By

Dr. T. P. Bhattacharya

Worship of Brahmā

“Brahmā Kṛitayuge pūjya—stretāyām

yajña uccyaté

Dvāpare pūjyate Viṣṇu—rahaṁ pūjya—

ścaturṣvapi ”

(Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa, 33. 20).

There was a cult in ancient India, perhaps a pre-Vedic one, known as the Rātrā cult. The cult was mainly and originally associated with a creator God or Brahmā. But scholars are of opinion that Brahmā was a post-Vedic or Paurāṇic god and hence his cult cannot be said to have existed before the Vedic period. In fact scholars do not believe in the existence of any special cult of Brahmā, though his worship was known in India. The antiquity of Brahmā, the methods of his worship, and whether there was really a sect of Brahmā will therefore be discussed in this chapter.

Brahmā is regarded in all Indian traditions as the supreme creator god. He is said to be the creator of the world, men, gods, Asuras and even the Vedas and all religions. Though some traditions refer to, Brahmā's origin from the navel of Viṣṇu Nārāyaṇa even the most sectarian of the Purāṇas describe him as having produced the creation. The Liṅga Purāṇa

(Pt. I. 3. 28), the Vishṇu (I. 2. 45), the Bhāgavata (III. 20. 12). and many other texts admit it. Many texts call Brahmā Svayambhū' i.e. self-born, and thus the first and oldest of the gods.

But apparently opposed to this most popular and clear conception of the creator God, is the idea of the creator god in Vedas, Upanishads and other philosophical systems of India. The difficulty about him increases when we find various gods being often described as the creator. In the Vedas practically all the gods are eulogised by their worshippers as creators. But apart from it, several gods have been definitely called the creator in the creation hymns. They are known by different names—Viśvakarmā, Tvaṣṭā, Bṛhaspati or Brahmanaspati. The most famous of them was the 'purusha' of the tenth Maṇḍala of the Ṛigveda, supposed by scholars as a late addition to the Ṛigveda. Two other Vedic creators were 'Hiraṇyagarbha' and 'Prajāpati' who in the Ṛigveda cannot be properly identified with any definite known god.

According to Keith "prajāpati is even a slighter figure than Viśvakarmā in the Ṛigveda, and his name as distinct deity occurs only four times, one late hymn being given to him (R.V. X. 121, 85. 43, 169). But Prajāpati is essentially in the later Saṁhitas and Brāhmaṇas regarded as the chief of the gods, and in special the father god who produces everything, who is the father of the gods and also of the Asuras. Prajāpati is the hero of the cosmogonic myths of the whole of the Brāhmaṇa period, he creates the worlds, the Vedas and the castes. In the Sūtras, he is specifically identified with Brahman, the god, the masculine of the idea of Brahman, 'Holy prayer' or the 'Holy power' (Keith—Philosophy and Religion of the Vedas etc. p. 207).

According to Macdonell, there are many passages in the Brāhmaṇas where he is recognised as the chief god (5B 11. 1, 6, 14, TB 8, 1, 3, 4, 5 B 2, 2, 4, SB 2, 4, 4, 1) and in the Āśvalāyana Gṛīhya sūtrā (3, 4 etc.), he is identified with Brahmā. Prajāpati also occurs in the Ṛigveda (IV. 53. 2) as are epithet of Savitṛi and as also of Soma (IX. 59). In one hymn Prajāpati

bears the title 'Hiranyagarbha, the golden germ (ex. 121. 1) and this mention of him is elaborated in the Atharvaveda (IV. 2. 8) and by the later literature to the rank of a supreme deity (T. S. V. 5. 1. 2). In the Atharvaveda he appears as the embryo which is produced in the waters on the process of creation "His position is definitely identified with that of Prajāpati in the Taittirīya Saṁhitā, and in the post-Vedic literature he becomes 'Brahmā' (Keith—Religion & Ph. of Vedas etc. p. 208 ff).

Similarly, regarding 'Purusha of the R̥gveda', Macdonell remarks that "In the Atharvaveda and the Upanishads, Purusha is also pantheistically interpreted as identical with the universe. He is also identified with Brahmā in the Chhāndogya Upanishad (1. 7. 5). In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, he is the same as prajāpati, the creator." He is identified with Prajāpati and Brahman in the Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā. Even the Bhāgavata Purāṇa says that Purusha was born as Brahmā.

Thus the scholars believe that god Brahmā was conceived in the post-Vedic period, the earliest creator god was Viśvakarmā, then Prajāpati, Hiranyagarbha or Purusha, and though later literature might identify all these gods, the R̥gvedic creator god was not Brahmā. Moreover, Prajāpati of the R̥gveda is sometimes an epithet of the sun god or Soma; and references to him are very scanty. The White Yajurveda also identifies Prajāpati with the Sun (XXXI. 1. 18-22). According to the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa (1. 6. 4. 1) "Prajāpati becoming Savitṛi created living beings." In the Chhāndogya Brāhmaṇa, Heaven and Earth are said to have arisen from the egg and 'Whatever was produced is the sun, which is Brahmā.' Thus if 'Brahmā' is regarded as distinct from Prajāpati (Brahmā) of the Brāhmaṇas and later Vedas, Brahmā cannot be said to have been worshipped in India before the later Vedic period.

It is, therefore, necessary to review the problem of the existence of so many names of the creator god. Our difficulty may be removed if we presume that these various names of the creator god arose out of the fact that these various names

were in the R̥gvedic period extant in various parts of the Vedic world and different tribes regarded their god as the creator and gave them different names. As the composition of the R̥gveda took a long time to be accomplished, the R̥gvedic Indians grew more and more acquainted with the gods of various parts of India and these gods were gradually given a place in the R̥gvedic pantheon. That the same god was often known by different names in different regions is also known from the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (1.7.3.8) in which it is said "These are the names of Agni—Śarva, as the Eastern people call him, Bhava as the Vāhikas, Paśūnāmpati, Rudra and Agni." Śarva, Bhava, Rudra, Paśūnāmpati etc. were really different gods of different regions, but owing to some common characteristics they were identified with one another and ultimately with Vedic Agni. But even though they were identified with Agni, we know that these names were also the names of Śiva and the Indus valley remains perhaps indicate that 'Paśūnāmpati' existed before the Vedic Agni. We cannot now say that these names were at first to Vedic Agni and then became appellations of the later god Śiva. Similarly we cannot say that the name Brahmā arose after Prajāpati or Hiranyagarbha and other creator gods of the Vedas. Keith also points out that god Brahman as known to the Buddhists was Brahma Sahampati, a name unknown to other texts, because that name prevailed only in the region where Buddhism arose. The Buddhists also knew many names of Brahmā such as Mahā Brahman, and referred to Brahmās in the plural. We find a similar phenomenon in the ancient Hellenic world where the Mother Goddess assumed three forms, as She was supposed to manifest herself in different districts (Slackenzie—Myths of Crete p. 59). Thus we may also conclude that Brahmā was a very ancient god and he assumed various forms and names in different parts of India in different ages. The Brāhmaṇas and later Vedas gave Brahmā the name of Prajāpati as that was perhaps the popular name of the god in that region and in that age. In the R̥gvedic world, the god had various names in various districts, and often other

gods were eulogised and identified with Brahmā. Identifications do not always prove the two gods identified as the same being; eulogy often identifies separate gods as one. The name 'Brahmā' appears to have been the popular name of the creator god in the Brahmāvarta region, other parts called him by other names. Regarding 'Purusha' it may be said that he is the production of the philosophical tendency of the Ṛigvedic Indians. Thus we may conclude that Prajāpati was really another name of Brahmā and his name occurring (may be only four times) in the Ṛigveda indicates his existence in the Ṛigvedic period, though not worshipped by the Ṛigvedic people as such.

It may similarly be shown that even the name 'Brahmā' was not unknown to the Ṛigveda. In the Ṛigveda (II. 1. 1) Brahmanaspati is invoked as 'Brahmā,' the masculine form of Brahman ('tvam Brahmā rayivid Brahmanaspati'). According to Muir, the passage identifies Brahmanaspati with Agni (Muir—Sans. Text, vol. V, p. 282). Similarly, Indra is called 'Brahmā' and 'Rishi' (Rv. VIII. 16). In both these hymns, the word 'Brahmā' has been taken by Scholars to mean 'Brahman, a priest.' But in another hymn (RV. X. 112. 8) it is said, "The Brahman easily found the cattle." Here 'Brahman' is Brahmā according to Sāyana and is identified with Brihaspati. In all these above mentioned hymns, the word 'Brahmā' may be taken to refer to 'Brahmā as a god, and Agni and Brihaspati (two being identified) have thus been identified with Brahmā. There is no reason why Brahmā here can only mean 'a priest'. Even if that be the meaning, the passages may be indirectly referring to the tradition that Brahmā was also a priest. Moreover it will be shown below that "Agni" and "Brihaspati," were really the Vedic form of pre-Vedic Brahmā, and hence the word Brahmā is mentioned as the epithet of only these two gods in the Veda, and not of any other. In these passages therefore, the Rishis are placing 'Agni and Brihaspati' to the position of god Brahmā and thus extol their positions. Agni or Brihaspati were considered as

gods; how could their position improve if they were called 'priests' (Brahma means 'a priest') ? Similarly, Indra had recently occupied a higher position in the R̥gvedic period and his dignity is also being expressed by identifying him with god Brahmā, and not a 'priest'.

Bṛihaspati is, no doubt, known to the later Indian traditions as the chief priest of the gods. But in the R̥gveda he occupies the position of a principal god. Muir also (Ibid p. 283) has referred to many passages from various Maṇḍalas of the R̥gveda where Agni is mentioned separately from Bṛihaspati or Brahmanaspati. Thus the above mentioned passages do not emerge the two gods into one, but merely extols one's position by comparison with the other. Brahmanaspati of the Veda had intimate relation with Indra, as Brahmā had with Indra in the Buddhist texts. The above R̥gvedic passages, therefore, indicate that Brahmanaspati was really the R̥gvedic equivalent of the pre-Vedic god 'Brahmā'.

According to the Purāṇas Brahmā first laid down the principles of 'Dharma' and 'Adharma' i.e. religious ideas. This was also the characteristic of god Brahmanaspati of the Veda. According to Roth (quoted in Muir's Sans. Texts, vol. V, p. 273) "Brahmanaspati is one of the divine beings who do not stand immediately within the circle of human life, but forms the transition from it to the moral life of the human spirit". Roth further shows that whereas the earliest Vedic gods are personifications of various departments of nature or of physical forces, this god is the product of moral ideas and impersonation of the power of devotion. "His entire character is such as does not belong to the earliest stage of the Vedic mythical creations, but points to a second shape which the religious consciousness endeavoured to take, without, however, being able actually to carry it fully into effect." Thus the characteristics of Brahmanaspati of the R̥gveda are found similar to those of Brahmā the god of religious consciousness.

Certain other characteristics of Brahmanaspati or Bṛihaspati are similar to those of Brahmā. He is called 'Śatapatra,

(Rv. VII. 97. 7) hundred-winged or better 'hundred-leaved.' Brahmanaspati was thus compared to a tree. We shall show below that Brahmā was also conceived as a tree. He is said to be carrying a golden spear (Rv. VII. 97. 7), a bow and arrows (II. 24. 8) and an iron axe (X. 53. 9) and sometimes a Vajra. He is described as the creator god, creator of gods and men (Rv. X. 72.). Brihaspati is said to make it possible for his associates "to behold the son of his son." (Rv. II. 3. 3). This reference to Brihaspati having power to help people in increasing their progeny reminds us of Brahmā's special relations with 'pitṛikārya' by doing which people give stability to their dynasties. Hence Brahmā's special name 'Pitāmaha' etc. Another hymn to Brahmanaspati refers also to the invocation to Marut, Indra, Varuna, Devi Sūnṛita, Priya Satyarūpa and 'Manoḥputrī Ilā Suvirā.' The association of Brahmanaspati with the last three gods or goddesses clearly identify Brahmanaspati with the god Brahmā. According to the Matsya Purāṇa, Śatarūpā came out of the body of Brahmā and was also known as Gāyatrī, Saraswatī or Brahmāṇī. The association of Manu with Brahmā is well known. This R̥gvedic hymn thus indirectly refers to the geneology of Brahmā and thus equals Brahmā with Brahmanaspati.

Brihaspati is also known as 'Saptagrīva' (Rv. X. 47) which is due to the fact that he is drawn by seven oxen. Similarly, Brihaspati had 'seven mouths' and 'seven rays' (Rv. IV. 50. 4). This relation of Brihaspati with the numeral 'Seven' shows his relation with the Saptarātra cult. In the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, Gaṇapati is identified with Brahmā, Brahmanaspati or Brihaspati. Thus the Vedas and Brāhmaṇas identify Brahmanaspati and Brihaspati with Brahmā. 'Brahmā' as an epithet of these gods need not be taken as meaning 'a priest' but rather as showing that these Vedic gods were being eulogised by their comparison with god Brahmā. Thus 'Brahmā,' it appears, was not accepted as a god by the Vedic people but his equivalents were 'Brahmanaspati' or Brihaspati, A. Coomarswamy also says that "In the Vedic period, Agni—Brihaspati

is Brahṁā i.e. high priest of the Gods and so virtually the god Brahṁā" (Zimmer—Mythology in Indian Art and civilisation, f. u p. 125).

Another difficulty in accepting the god Brahṁā as a pre-Vedic god is the theory that the name 'Brahṁā' was a later development of the neuter 'Brahman'; and hence god Brahṁā arose after the Vedic period. Brahṁā is thus known popularly as a Purāṇic and thereby a lately created god. The word Brahman in the R̥gveda has been explained by scholars to mean 'prayer', 'Holly writ' or 'Veda'. Keith is of opinion that there are further developments of this meaning. "It can mean spell", for prayer may be a spell and not real prayer, and if often means 'holy speech', the 'holy writ', the three-fold Vedas. But in many passages it seems as if 'Brahman' must be taken rather as 'holy power' than as 'prayer'. The gods are said to discuss the Brahman, and from it, it is clear that more than the mere word may be intended." According to him "prayer rapidly passes over to the lower rank" and spell gets superiority. In the Atharvaveda, the Brahman as the spell is the power to destroy evil. But even Keith concludes by saying that "the origin of the meaning of Brahman is uncertain". It has been shown that god Brahṁā had in early times a special relation with a magic cult (See chapter 1) or spells. This might have given rise to the word 'Brahman' from Brahṁā. Many later Vedic passages also indicate that 'Brahman' as an abstract, referring to the 'God absolute' of the Upanishads, the formless Brahman, arose out of the word 'Brahman in the masculine i.e. God Brahṁā. The Kena upanishad thus identifies the two. "That is Brahman, not what the people worship." Here the popular Brahman undoubtedly refers to Brahṁā. Similarly, 'Brahman won a victory for the Dewas' also refers to god Brahṁā.

The Atharvaveda contains references to a god Brahman. Thus in a hymn (XXI. 43) addressed to Brahman, seven gods are invoked. The association of '7 Gods' with Brahman reminds us of the sapta-rātra cult of Brahṁā. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (X. 2. 3. 1) clearly refers to Brahman as the first

creator and thus identifies Brahman with Brahṁā. There is therefore ample reason to hold that the word 'Brahman' of the Upanishads was a mere philosophisation of and therefore a later abstract form of the word 'Brahṁā'. So there is no reason to hold that in the Upanishadic period people knew only Brahman and not Brahṁā. Brahṁā as Prajāpati was the main god not only of the Brāhmaṇa period but also of the Upanishadic age. According to Keith, "It is of importance to note that in the Upanishads, where, if anywhere, the mention of Brahman as the creator god would be expected to be frequently found, it is comparatively rare and Prajāpati is the normal name of the creator and so in the Sūtra texts also" (Keith-Ibid p. 209 ff.). Thus the abstract 'Brahman' originated from the concrete Brahṁā. According to Macdonell 'the evolution of thought in the Ṛigvedic period shows a tendency to advance from the concrete to the abstract.' The Ṛigvedic 'Brahman', whatever might have been its meaning, may therefore be considered to have originated from the concrete 'Brahṁā'. The review of the Vedic period thus shows that even in the Ṛigvedic period god Brahṁā might have existed in India.

The Atharvaveda also makes Prajāpati the supreme god. It further refers to Ashtakā as the daughter of Prajāpati. As shown before (Ch. 1). words Ashtāka, or Ashtakā had a special association with the Śrāddha cult and Brahṁā worship. Worship of Prajāpati was thus the same as that of Brahṁā.

In the Maitrāyaṇi Saṁhita (IV. 2. 12) Prajāpati's incest with his daughter Uṣas is mentioned. Uṣas changed herself into a gazelle and so prajāpati also became a deer. Rudra aimed an arrow at the deer, but was induced to lay it aside, on prajāpati promising to make Rudra the lord of beasts. In the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, Rudra is said to have been produced by the angry gods from the most terrible substances and Rudra shoots an arrow at Prajāpati. This legend is vaguely referred to in the Ṛigveda (X. 61. 5-9 X.116); but scholars (Keith) thinks that here the incest is ascribed to Dyaus with his daughter. The story is also known to the Purāṇas. Hence there is no reason to ascribe

it to Dyaus in the R̥gveda.

The White Yajurveda refers to Śrī and Lakshmī as two wives of the Sun, who is also therein identified with Prajāpati. According to Purāṇas, Śrī and Lakshmī were daughters of Brahmā, and wives of Dharma or Viṣṇu (according to later versions).

Indirect hints to the existence of Brahman or Brahmā worship may be traced in the Atharvaveda (IV. II). In verse 9, it refers to 'seven' exhaustless pourings of the ox (who in the hymn is the Gharma, caldron, or Indra who in verse 2 is called a 'bull') which the seven Ṛishis know well. The number seven and specially the seven Ṛishis point to the Saptarātra cult. The verse 11 runs thus, "assigned are these *twelve nights*, they say, as holy to Prajāpati. Whoever knows their proper prayer performs the sacrifice of the ox." The 'Twelve nights' of Prajāpati may refer to the 'Dvādaśa tanu or rātri of Brahmā.

In another obscure hymn known as Brahmodya (Av. V. 1), it is said, "Seven are the pathways which the wise (or fathers) have fashioned." "On sure ground, where the ways are parted, standeth Life's pillar (Āyorna Skambha), in the dwelling of the highest." The first verse may refer to the Saptarātra cult of the manes, allied as it was to the Brahmā cult. The second verse might refer to the Skambha Brahman, or worship of Brahman or Brahmā in the form of a pillar. This matter will be discussed in detail later on (See Ch. 5)

The Praśna Upanishad, as the other Brāhmaṇas, refers to the preparing of a sacrifice by Prajāpati for the purpose of creation. The Muṇḍaka Upanishad refers to Brahmā's eldest son named Atharvan, to whom Brahmā taught the Brahnavidyā. The Aitareya and Taittirīya Upanishads also refer to Brahmā. Thus there is no doubt that in certain stage of history, especially in the Upanishads, Brahman and Brahmā were identical to the Indians. The term 'Brahmaloka' 'Mahābrahmā' of the Buddhists and the like also point to this fact.

The review of Vedic Literature thus clearly indicates that even in the early Vedic period, there was prevalent the worship

of a god named Brahmā, or Brahman or Prajāpati, besides that of other creator gods mentioned in the Vedas. Brahmā need not be regarded as a god created by later Purāṇas. Keith also admits that god Brahman (or Brahmā) was apparently a great and popular god among Brahmins during the time of the Buddhist texts, but he is of opinion that "importance of the god Brahman can be shown only for a period during the development of Buddhism." This latter view of Keith cannot however be fully supported. Brahmā was a pre-Buddhistic and prevedic god.

The Buddhist *Tevijja Sutta* clearly refers to the worship of Brahmā, and its goal was the union with Brahmā. As *Tevijja* refers to the three Vedas, it may be concluded that at the time of the Buddha the religion of the Vedas was regarded by the Hindus as worship of Brahmā. This idea therefore must have arisen long before the rise of Buddhism. The *Theragāthā* contains names of Theras such as *Brahmmāli*, *Brahmadatta* etc. In the *Assalayana Sutta* (*Majjhima Nikāya* No. 93), the Brahmin *Assvalayana* claims "the Brahmins are the real sons of Brahmā, born from his mouth, sprung from Brahmā, created by Brahmā, heirs of Brahmā." This view is echoed in the *Milindapanho*. (IV. 5. 20) in which it is said "His father, mother were worshippers of Brahmā, reverers of Brahmā and harbouring the idea that *Brāhmaṇas* were highest and most honourable among men." Further we find (*Milinda* IV. 5. 37) "All men in those times with the ascetics and the monks, the wandering teachers and Brahmins were worshippers of Brahmā, reverers of Brahmā and placed their reliance on Brahmā." Though the *Milinda* is a later work, it contains the common tradition current in society at the time of the rise of Buddhism. In fact, when the Buddha visited Bodhgaya, the ascetics of that place, the *Purana Jātīlas*, worshipped Indra and Brahmā (see Barua—Gaya and Bodhgaya).

In the *Sela Sutta* (*Sutta Nipata* III. 7. 7) quoted in the *Milinda* (IV. 3. 33), the Buddha is said to have cried out, "I am a king, an incomparable *Dharmarāja*, with Dhamma

I turn the wheel, a wheel that is irresistible." The expression 'incomparable Dharmarāja' indicates the belief in the existence of other Dharmarājas in the country at that time. This god Dharma was closely associated with the Brahmā cult. Thus there is no doubt that a cult of Brahmā existed at least in eastern India when Buddhism arose. All legends of Buddhism refer to Brahmā's visits to the Buddha on many occasions. The Buddhists, however, made Brahmā, Indra and other Hindu gods of that time subordinate to the Buddha (See Chapter on Buddhism).

The Brahmā cult having been proved to have been existing in the earliest known periods of Indian history is curiously not directly mentioned in the Vedas. The reason was not that it did not exist, but that it was purposely suppressed by the Vedas. The Brāhmaṇa and Pauranic tradition to the effect that Brahmā died after creation thus indicates that with the rise of the Vedic religion Brahmā's direct worship had ceased among the higher class people at least of the western parts of India. The great religious schism (referred to in the first chapter) divided the people of India into Vedic worshippers and Asura worshippers, of Vedic Gods with Indra at their head and worshippers of Brahmā's Rātras. Hence it is that the Vedas purposely did not mention the god Brahmā in their pantheon. But as time went on, the influence of the old cult changed the character of the Vedic religion. Again in later religious books, the Sūtras, the Puraṇas and other heterodox texts, references to Brahmā began to appear. The Vedic religion was not however a total departure from the old cult of Brahmā; the god was continued to be worshipped with new names—Prajāpati, Brahmanaspati, Brahman and such other names of creator gods, as found in the Vedas and Upanishads. The old cult evolved the Sāṃkhya and the new cult evolved the Vedānta (Upanishads); but other parts of India still clung to the old faith. The non-Vedic east continued to follow the old form of religion till the rise of Jainism and Buddhism out of the old cults.

According to other Indian traditions too, the Vedic cult arose

in the fourth birth of Brahmā (Mahabharata legend). The Vedic religion thus arose out of the Rātra cults. The Brahmanāda Puraṇa verse cited at the head of the present chapter also appears to contain genuine tradition about the history of evolution of the Indian religions. In this verse it is said "Brahmā was adorable in the Satya Yuga; in the Tretā Yuga 'sacrifice' is said to be so; in the Dvāpara Yuga, Vishnu was worshipped. I (i.e. Śiva, relator of the verse) am worshipped in all the four (yugas)." This verse thus indicates that the earliest religion consisted of Brahmā worship; then came sacrifice, the period of Vedic religion, then came the worship of Vishnu (as shown in the previous Chapter). It will be shown that the worship of Śiva was really associated with Brahmā's and the Indus valley culture has also proved Śiva to be the oldest god of India. Śiva was worshipped in the form of Rudra in the period of sacrifice (Vedic period). Vishnu was not a prominent god in the Vedic period though worshipped. His religion got a wonderful impetus after it was mixed up with the cult of Vasudeva and after the rise of the Bhāgavata or Pancharātra religion by the suppression of the still existing Rātra cults of Brahmā. The absence of reference to Brahmā in the Veda need not therefore be taken as a proof of non-existence of his worship in the Vedic period. The Vedas do not really give us a full picture of the condition of India of that period, as has been now the accepted opinion of scholars. The Vedas made Indra the chief god; but the Purāṇas while depicting him as a lude and coward god perhaps indicate his earlier position.

The cult of Brahmā after its suppression by the Vedic religion was considered as a religion of the Asuras, as the Brāhmaṇas clearly refers to the Asuras having taken up the 'Rātras of Brahmā and the gods having taken recourse to the Divā (gods). But the worship of Brahmā continued in society in various forms, some incorporated into the orthodox religions and others limited to low class peoples. The Saptarātra cult of Brahmā appears to have been popular in several regions such as Kurukshetra, Panchala, Banaras and eastern parts of India. The Purāṇas

though referring to Brahmā did not later on attach much importance to the deity. No particular sect of Brahmā is found existing in the historic period. Very few temples were erected for this god. Hindus worship the god in the Sandhyā rites, in marriage ceremony, in 'tarpaṇa' to forefathers and in the Śrāddha ceremony. But the Buddhist texts as quoted above indicate that the worship was popular in eastern India. In the Mahābhārata (Virāta Parva 13 (14) a Brahmotsava is said to have been performed in the fourth month of the year in the Matsya territory. In certain parts of Bengal (Nabadvipa etc.) Brahmā is still worshipped for seven days in the month of Bhādra, as a protection, it is said, against fire. That the Brahmā cult was mainly considered as a cult of the Asuras is evident from the fact that in the Purāṇas most of the daityas or Asuras are said to have achieved supernatural power by a boon from god Brahmā. The reason for the disappearance of the cult was undoubtedly the rivalry of the cult with the Vedic religion. But some Paurāṇic tradition attributes this to the incest of Brahmā with his daughter. According to the legend of the Lingodbhava mūrti of Śiva, Brahmā's worship was stopped owing to the curse of Śiva on Brahmā. These reasons however were fabrications of later periods. It is also likely that the Vṛātyas, Yatis and Munis of the Vedic period, known to be following a non-Vedic cult were really following a cult allied to that of Brahmā.

Non-sectarian works of later periods indicate the popularity or continuity of Brahmā's worship. Brahmā was the chief god worshipped during religious ceremonies performed at the time of building a house. In the Vāstumaṇḍala Brahmā occupies the central place according to all the vāstu-texts. The setting up of the Brahmaśilā is the first ceremony. In orientation of cities, Brahmā's temple was to be set up in the centre of cities (Agni Purāṇa 39. 10). The principal gate of the city was called the Brahmā gate (Arthaśāstra). Even in the Vedic period, the chief god related to house building was 'Vastoshpati'. This god is identified with Indra or Brahmanaspati. Brahmanaspati

was, as has been shown, the counterpart of Brahmā. Kramrisch refers to passages in which Vāstu is identified with Rudra; hence Vāstoshpati may be regarded as Brahmā (whose son was Rudra) (Kramrisch-Hindu Temples). In the Vāstumāṇḍala, the god occupying the north-east compartment of the Maṇḍala is called 'Sikhiṇ' (not Agni, as he is placed in the South-east) which shows the relation of Brahmā with that god. This 'Sikhiṇ', as already shown, was a god related to the Rātra cult. Vāstuśāstras further relate that this science was first promulgated by Brahmā (Bṛihat Saṁhitā-Cal-Edition 53. 1) or Śiva. In one of the Ṛigvedic hymns (X. 61. 8) Vāstoshpati is used in apposition with Brahmā (Griffith-Ṛigveda Vol. II-Appendix—f. note p. 611). Vāstoshpati thus appears to be same as Brahmā. The non-sectarian Vāstuśāstra thus proves the antiquity of the worship of Brahmā, and its popularity even in the historic period. (For antiquity of the Vāstu-worship see Author's 'A Study on Vāstu-Vidyā').

A further proof of the antiquity and popularity of the cult is supplied by the Tīrtha chapters in the Mahābhārata (Vana Parva 80-85). This matter is said to have been first related by Pulastya to Bhīṣma and are here reproduced by Nārada to the Pāṇḍavas. Pulastya and Nārada are sages famous in the Rātra cults, and Bhīṣma, as already stated, was Pitāmaha or Brahmā. The association of these chapters with these sages, thus may point to the relation of these 'tīrthas' with the Brahmā-rātra cult. This view is further supported by the fact that out of more than hundred sacred tīrthas described in these chapters, not more than six or seven are definitely related to the worship of Viṣṇu, whereas all the others were sacred to Brahmā, Piṭṛins, Dharma and Śiva. Performance of Śrāddha was prescribed in all these places. Many of these places had each a sacred tree which was a symbol of Brahmā (see below). Thus the oldest tīrthas of India were perhaps sacred to god Brahmā and his associate gods. The Mahābhārata was at first related to the Brahmā cult. Hopkins says that in the Mahabharata "three stages are clear. The earliest tales knows no god higher

than Brahman." Holtzmann also held that Brahman is the chief god of the 'older epic', but Hopkins believed that Brahman was the chief god of the older tales incorporated into the epic (Great Epic of India, p. 184).

Though the Purāṇas in their present form are late works, it has already been indicated that originally the Purāṇas were texts of the Brahmā cult. Interesting features about this cult may be thus gathered from the study of these works. The Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa (published in Calcutta) appears to be a real purāṇa of the Brahmā cult. According to it, Brahman's four Vyūhas (see Ch. I also) were Ādideva, Aja, Āditya and Agni. From his eastern face arose the Sāmaveda, from the southern arose the Ṛigveda, from the Western one arose the Yajus and from his northern face arose the Atharvaveda. From the anger of Brahmā arose Rudra and from Rudra arose the Śaktis who were but different forms of Bhadrakālī. From Bhadrakālī arose Dharma. According to the Matsya Purāṇa Dharma arose from Brahmā, or Brahmā himself was born as Dharma. Thus the Brahmā cult assimilated the worship of Rudra, the Śaktis and a god named Dharma. The Pancharātra texts also refer to the Māyāśakti of God and three mothers.

A geneology of Brahmā is found in many of the Purāṇas and the Mahābhārata. The Manu Saṁhita describes the origin of Brahmā or Nārāyaṇa in water, out of the egg. The Purāṇas refer to his rise from a lotus on water. This Lotus is identified with Prithivī (Mat. Pur 169. 7) The Satapatha Brāhmaṇa (VII. 4. 1. 12) also identifies lotus with the Earth. Brahmā then created Dharma, and his other sons, Daksha, 9 Ṛishis and Manu. Brahmā created five daughters of which Lakshmī and Sarasvatī were two (Mat. 171). According to other Purāṇas, Daksha had ten daughters including Lakshmī who was married to Dharma. Kāma was the son of Lakshmī by Dharma. Dharma's other sons were the eight Vasus. Brahmā had also produced four mānasa sons—Sanaka, Sanandana etc. (See Ch. 1). The Purāṇic geneology of Brahmā is not exactly the same in all texts, but agrees in its essential features. These geneologies

indicate the various other gods who were associated with Brahmā—the worship of Brahmā also therefore included the worship of those gods or goddesses.

Two other early gods were associated with the Brahmā cult. The Taittiriya and Satapatha Brāhmaṇas identify Brahman with a god 'Ātman'. Keith is of opinion that the two expressions had by diverse ways come to be regarded as expressions for the same thing, but the history of Ātman suggests that it had from the first an independent existence. This Ātman was worshipped in the Upanishads and by the Jains not perhaps as mere abstractions but as definitely concrete gods.

The Bṛihad-Araṇyaka further refers to a god 'Satyam' connected with creation. This is also found as the name of a 'Vyūha' in the Pancharātra cult. "In the beginning, waters were this (universe); they produced Satyam, from this was produced Brahmā, from Brahmā Prajāpati, from Prajāpati the gods." Satyam is mentioned along with Rita in the R̥gveda but its divine character in the Vedas cannot be understood properly. The god was connected with the creation legend (cf. Aghamarshana hymns). According to scholiasts 'Satyam' means 'Panchabhūtam', which is the tanu of Brahmā or Rātras. Satya was one of the Vyūhas in the Vaikhānasa system. Satya was also included in the names of the Visvadeva gods, others being Vasu, Kratu, Daksha, Kāla, Kāma, Dhriti, Kuru, Pururavā and Mādrava. These names also indicate the relation of God Satya with Nārāyaṇa or Brahmā. The worship of god 'Satya-Nārāyaṇa' is still very popular in India, and may be regarded as a survival of the ancient Brahmā cult in a Vaiṣṇava garb.

The association of Rudra with Brahmā has already been mentioned in the legends about Brahmā's incest. The Purāṇas also co-relate these two gods. Rudra was a mānasa son of Brahmā or arose from Brahmā's anger (Garuḍa Purāṇa 1.5.2). The Atharvaveda refers to Rudra residing in fire (Av. VII. 87), and when fire was identified with Prajāpati, Rudra and Prajāpati were closely co-related. Ahirbudhnyā is identified with

fire in the Veda, with one of the Rudras in the Purāṇas and with Prajāpati in the Aitarya Brāhmaṇa (3-36). He is one of the Pancharātra gods. In the Matsya Purāṇa (III. 39-40) it is said that after Brahmā's incest, Brahmā's fifth head became Jaṭila (matted) through shame. Brahmā is generally regarded to have four faces; and five faces are ascribed to Śiva. The Matsya Purāṇa ascribing five heads to Brahmā perhaps refers to a mixed form of Śiva—Brahmā. The story of Śiva's Brahma-Śiraśchedaka mūrti also refers of the Śiva's cutting off the fifth head of Brahmā. The Jaṭila Sanyāsis of Gaya of the time of the Buddha perhaps worshipped such a mixed form of Śiva-Brahmā. The figure at Bodhgaya of Dharmēśa or Champēśa of the Pala Period may also be that of a mixed god of this type. This association of Brahmā with Rudra-Śiva is echoed in the Gayāsūra legend which refers to Brahmā's entering into a Linga; and at Gaya, Śiva is still worshipped in the name of Pitāmaheśvara, Prapitāmaheśvara etc. This relation will be further clarified from Brahmā's relations with Kāla and Dharma. This is, however, interesting to note that according to the R̥gveda 'Muni' was a non-sacrificing man who was a friend of Rudra with whom he drinks a potent draught. This 'muni' had long hair and wore yellow robes (RV. X. 136). Muni thus might have been a class of non-Vedic Sanyasi worshipping Rudra-Śiva.

Kāla was, according to Purāṇas, a god closely associated with creation and creation legends. Though references to him are scanty in the R̥gveda, he is regarded as a great god, equal to the creator, 'source and ruler of all things'. In the Atharva veda (XIX. 53 and 54) Kāla is described as riding on a chariot of one horse, "having seven rays and thousand eyes." This 'Time' moves also on seven wheels, he has seven naves and immortality is his axle. He is all the worlds at present and in future. He is the father of Prajāpati, Kāśyapa and holy Fire. The Maitri Upanishad calls Kāla 'a form of Brahmā' (M. U. VI. 14. ff). Kāla is one of the Viśvadeva gods and a god of the Vaiśya caste (Bṛihad. Upanishad 1.4. 12). The Matsya Purāṇa. (154.13)

identifies Kāla with Brahmā. The Vishṇu Purāṇa also regards Kāla as a supreme being. According to the Garuḍa Purāṇa (1. 1. 18) Kapila was an avatāra of Hari, who taught Sāṃkhya to Āsuri in order to save religion (Dharma) from the disorder created by Kāla. This shows that there was a religion of Kāla and to purify it, the Sāṃkhya Philosophy was preached by Kapila. It has been already suggested (Ch. 1) that the Sāṃkhya Philosophy was an attempt to philosophise the Brahmā—Rātra Cult (related to the worship of Kāla). According to the Brahmānda Purāṇa, there are five Kālas—Agni, Sūrya, Soma, Vāyu and Rudra; and Brahmā is the lord of all Kālas. Kāla is a Chakra having four faces and ten tongues. Kāla is also identified with Rudra (Brahmānda Pur. Ch. 23). In the Mahābhārata (Anuśāsana Parva), Mrityu declared Kāla to be regulating all nature, creatures and the world itself. Kāla is Parama Brahma (XII. 224). The Pancharātra Saṃhitas regard Kāla, along with Puruṣa and Prakṛiti, to have created the world. All these references indicate Kāla's relations with the numeral 'Seven', Brahmā cult, creation and the Sāṃkhya philosophy.

The god Kāla in course of time was identified with god Dharma. He is described as a Chakra and so was Dharma. In the Garuḍa Purāṇa (1. 82. 6) Viṣṇu is called "Kālesa" at Bodhgaya, but according to the Vāyupurāṇa, Viṣṇu is 'Dharmeshwara, of that place. This equates Kāla with Dharma. The reference in the Geetā (X. 30) to Kāla as the best of 'counters of numbers' (Kalayatām) perhaps indicates that Kāla was the god of the doctrine of numbers i.e. the Rātra cult. Another meaning of 'Kalayatām' being 'Vaśīkūrvatām' may also refer to Kāla as a god of magical cults, as the Rātra cult really was. Kāla also became a form of Śiva according to the Brahmānda Purāṇa. This association with Śiva is evident from a seal found at Bhita, of the 3rd-4th century A.D., in which Śiva is called 'Kāleśvara'. The continuity of the traditions of Kāla as a god is proved by the Viṣṇudharmottaram in which Kāla's image is described, and the description associates him with Dharma. His image might also be made in the form of

serpents and scorpions. According to the Buddhists the Nāgarāja was called 'Kāla'. Kāla is also regarded as 'Yama'. But all the references indicate that originally he was a god different from Yama. From the Vedic period to the Seventh Century, Kāla was worshipped as a god. He was most likely a pre-Vedic God related to the Brahmā cult.

Another Vedic god allied to Dharma was Kāma. The Atharvaveda invoked Kāma as a 'bull'. The Purāṇas make Kāma, a son of Dharma and grandson of Brahmā. According to the Atharvaveda again Kāma 'first of all came into being'. Thus he was almost identical with Brahmā. Further both 'Kāma' and 'Dharma' being bulls, are identified or closely associated. Kāma was converted by the Buddhists into Māra. Kāma was represented by the Buddhists as a 'pigeon'. Figures of pigeons are found depicted on the earliest Vajrāsana at Bodhgaya, along with those of swans, the symbol of Brahmā. Kāma was identified with 'Sāmba' (Krishṇa's son) and was once regarded as one of the Vyūhas of Vasudeva, but was later on rejected by the Pancharātra cult. The popularity of the Holi festival and its association with Krishṇa cult might have arisen from the fact that originally the Holi festival was one dedicated to Kāma (or Madana) as a god of the Rātra cult (a non-Vedic cult), and later on when Kāma was associated with Krishṇa's dynasty (Sāmba) the festival became a Vaishṇava one.

The Vedic gods 'Kāla' and 'Kāma' were thus related to another god Dharma who was also connected with the Brahmā cult. Scholars generally take God 'Dharma' as referring to the Buddha. But he was not so. Dharma was and is still worshipped as a god in Bengal. His worship gave rise to a big literature in Bengal. Prof. S. B. Das Gupta has discussed the nature of this god Dharma in some detail. But he has missed the real issue. He has shown from references in the Brāhmanas and Purāṇas that there was a god named Dharma in ancient India and that his cult in Bengal could not have been the product of only Buddhism, but was a mixture of various cults. Investigations

in Bihar have enabled me to find out that even now on the Yamadvitīyā day, in the district of Patna and Gayā a god called 'Dharmadeo' is worshipped by women and priests recite a Kathā. 'Kūśa' plants are planted on the courtyard and women offer worship there with vermillion and other things. I have already shown, in my book on the Bodhgaya temple, the relation of Dharma with god Brahmā whose worship was prevalent in the Gaya region even in the time of the Buddha. The revival of Dharma cult by Ramai Punditt in Bengal in the Pala period therefore appears to be a survival of the original Dharma cult of the Gaya region.

In the Ṛigveda (VIII. 35. 13) a god named Dharma associated with Mitra, Varuṇa and Maruts is invoked along with the Aswins. In the Satapatha Brahmana (13.4.3) Dharma is identified with Indra. It was natural for the Vedic people to accept this non-Vedic god and then identify him with their supreme god. The Buddhists often identified Dharma with Brahmā, as will be shown below. In the Satapatha Brahmana, Nārāyaṇa is described as the son of Dharma. The Mahābhārata also refers to Nārāyaṇa's birth in the family of Dharma (see Chapter 1). Yudhishtira is described as the son of Dharma. This Dharma, when he approached Kuntī, was 'Yogamūrtidhara' (Adiparva 123-5). This shows Dharma's relation with Yoga. The Buddhist texts refer to the Devadhamma sect i.e. worshippers of god Dharma. Worship of Dharma is mentioned in the Samyuttara Nikāya (138ff.—cf. Aṅguttara Nikāya ii. 20 ff). All these references clearly indicate that Dharma cannot be taken as equivalent to the Buddha. He was a pre-Buddhistic god, allied with Brahmā, Kāla etc.

The Manu Samhitā refers to gods Brahmā and Dharma (Manu XII. 50). The Brihadāranyaka (1.4. 14) says that Brahman created Dharma. The Mahānārāyaṇi Upanishad (XXI. 6) refers to Dharma as a great god. According to the Jains Jina Dharmanātha was the son of the Sungod and Suvratā (as Yama was in the Purāṇas). Dharma is known as one of the Avatāras (twelfth) of Viṣṇu (Aḥirbudhnya Samhitā, Bhagavata etc.)

The *Bṛihatsaṃhita* (Cal. Edition, Chap. 99.1) refers to a god named Dharma or Dharmēśa. The origin of Dharma from Brahmā is traced in the *Purāṇas*. He was Brahmā's son, or Nārāyaṇa was himself born as Dharma, or he was the son-in-law of Brahmā. Dharma's wife was Ahimsā. She bore him Hari, Kṛishṇa, Nara and Nārāyaṇa. (Mat. P. Chap 171, 172; *Vāmana Purāṇa*). Dharma is invoked in the Nanaghat inscription along with Prajāpati and other Hindu gods. The *Vishṇu-dharmottara* refers to his image as having four faces, four feet and four arms, with a white garment, and of white colour. In his right hand should be rosary and a book in the left. By his right side should be Vyavasāya in person and by the left Happiness very beautiful. The *Dhyāna* in the *Vratakhanda*, replaces Happiness by a beautiful bull. Dharma is popularly known as a bull in India (see below). The *dhyāna* makes him similar to Brahmā.

This god Dharma, as shown before, was related with Kāla and thus both the Gods became equivalent to Yama or Dharmarāja. In the *Skanda purāṇa* we find Dharma or Dharmarāja as identified with Yama, who propitiated Śiva and transformed himself into a bull to become Śiva's Vāhana. Yama is known as Rājā in the *R̥gveda* (IX. 113) and the *Atharvaveda* (VI.123.5). 'Dharmarāja' therefore made Dharma equivalent to Yama. But Dharma as a Bull was different from Yama who rode on a buffalo. Jain geneology of Dharmanātha, as will be shown below, also identified Dharma with Yama. Barua could not accept Dharma and Yama as identical, as was contended by O'mally, for the former thought that Yama was not a pre-Vedic deity. We have shown that Dharma was at one time a prevedic deity and later on identified with Yama. Dharmarāja or Yama was further associated with Śiva, as was Kāla (see above) and both Yama and Kāla's iconographic features were made similar to those of Śiva. This is borne out by a verse in the *Hayasirsa-pancharātram* (Chap. 27) where it is said. "(Dharmarāja) should be made similar to Bhairava in funeral places and forest tracts."

As 'Dharma' was later on identified with Yama, so was

Kāla. But the worship of Dharma as a separate god continued in India till it was mixed up in some places with Buddhism. But the distinctive features of Dharma's worship continued till its revival in Bengal and other places in which the cult appears to be a mixed worship of various gods.

As god Kāla was represented having a chakra, or was itself a chakra, so was Dharma represented as a chakra. The Buddhist Dharmachakra might therefore have originated from this Dharmachakra of god Dharma. As already said, Buddha called himself a Dharmarāja having a great wheel. The Buddhist texts identify Dharmachakra with Brahmachakra. In many texts, as Keith shows (*Phil. and Relof Vedas etc.* p. 550), the words 'Dharma' and 'Brahma' are substituted for one another. Thus Dharmayāna was also Brahmayāna. Buddha was both 'Brahman' and 'Dharma'. According to the Buddhist tradition, the Buddha sat in contemplation before (or on) the Vajrāsana. Though it has been allegorically interpreted, there are reasons to believe that he sat before a real platform known as the Vajrāsana which was also the Dharmachakra. (See next chapter). The earliest Vajrāsana found at Bodhgaya (of the Asokan period) contained on the top-piece several figures of squares with a circle inside each, and figures of swans and pigeons were depicted on the side edges. The square was Brahmā and the circle was Chakra or Dharma. The swan was Brahmā; and the pigeon was Kāma, the son of Brahmā or Dharma himself. The *Markandeya Purāṇa* (Ch. 102) says that "pigeon is Dharma". The *Svetāsvatara Upanishad* (1.6) says "Haṁsa bhrāmyaté Brahmachakré". Thus the Vajrāsana was really a Brahmachakra and Dharmachakra. The Buddhists themselves called their Dharmachakra also Brahmachakra (*Maj. Nikaya* 1.69). Thus there cannot be any doubt that the Dharmachakra, Brahmachakra and the Vajrāsana were originally symbols of the Brahmā and Dharma worship. Brahmanaspati of the Vedas, as equivalent to Brahmā had as his weapon a Vajra. Dharma's weapon was also Vajra. Dharmanātha of the Jains had as his symbol a Vajradanda. The Ādibuddha of the Vajrayāna had in his hand a

Vajra. Māra (or Kāma) son of Brahmā had his weapon Vajra. Thus also was Vajrāsana a symbol of Dharma. In the *Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa* (Anandasarama Series Vol. III, p. 1168) it is said "Vajra is chakra". According to the Buddhists, Dharma was also the name of the seat of Indra. Thus Dharmachakra became the Vajrāsana. The Paurāṇic 'Dharmasilā' by which the Gayāsura was pressed by the gods was the same as the Vajrasilā or the Vajrāsana, or the symbol of god Dharma. The Asura religion was suppressed by a cult of Dharma and Brahmā. The Vajrāsana was Dharma and the tree was Brahmā (as the Purāṇas say).

Brahmā is also described as "One wheel" in the *Atharva Veda* (X. 8.4). Thus even according to Hindu traditions Brahmā and Dharma were allied deities. Kāla was one of the Rudras. So were Dharma and Śiva closely allied. Śiva was a yogin and so was Dharma 'yogamūrtidhara' in the *Mahābhārata*. The images of Śiva and Dharma as depicted in the *Vishṇu-dharmamottara* were almost similar. Later on Dharma was also identified with Vishṇu with chakra in hand. The Vajrāsana or the Dharmachakra was originally the symbol of Dharma of the Brahmā cult. Hence it is that the *Vaiṣṇava pancharātra Saṁhitās* definitely say that "the Sudarśana Chakra was Brahmā, the Kālachakra, the Jina of the Jains, and Buddha of the Buddhists." We thus find why the Dharmachakra or the Vajrāsana was the symbol of the Buddha when the images of Buddha were not depicted in sculpture. Bodhgaya was thus a centre of Dharma-Brahmā cult and the Dharmachakra and Vajrāsana were adopted by the Buddhists from the worship of Dharma and Brahmā at Bodhgaya.

Dharma is known in the *Mahābhārata* to have assumed the form of a dog. Similarly the image of Vatuka Bhairava, a form of Śiva is always accompanied by a dog on his side. It is interesting to note that in Chotanagpur there is a festival in which a dog is worshipped. These might be survivals of the early relation of Śiva with Dharma.

Similarly Dharma is said to have assumed the form of a

Yaksha. Some of the Yakshas worshipped at the time of the Buddha were perhaps related to the Dharma cult or Brahmā worship. One was called 'Suchiloma' or boar. This might have been related to one of the earliest forms of Brahmā's avatāra as a boar (see below). Another Yaksha was called 'Khara' (an ass) and 'Gardhava' was also the name of another. 'Khara' in the Mahābhārata is known to have been a form of 'Bali' when he was living in secrecy after his discomfiture and Bali is said to have been at first a great favourite of Brahmā. Thus Yaksha worship appears to have been a form of Brahmā-Dharma cult in its latest phases. This is also apparent from the Kena Upanishad in which Brahman is called a Yaksha by the gods. Thus gods which were not known to the Vedic gods or people were styled Yakshas. Brahmā, Dharma etc. being outside the pale of Vedic pantheon might have been known as Yakshas. Brahmā worship and Yaksha worship were both limited to the lower stratum of society.

The Brahmā cult had also a close relation with that of the Earth Goddess. The three incarnations of Vishṇu—as Matsya, Kurma and Varāha—were originally avatāras of Brahmā Prajāpati (See below) and all these had been assumed in order to save the 'Earth'. As these avatāras are known in Vedic literature, the relation of Brahmā with the Earth goddess was a very ancient cult of India. As has been already shown, according to the Purāṇas, Brahmā arose out of Prithivī (Lotus or Rasā). The Purāṇas also make goddesses like Śrī, Lakshmī, etc. wives or daughters of Brahmā. If they were daughters, they were married to Dharma. The Mahābhārata relates that Śrī was at first residing with Asura Bali and the Daityas, but later on left them. Śrī thus describes himself as not subordinate to Vidhātā (Brahmā), but was under Kāla. Śrī was therefore associated with the Kāla or Dharma worship, before being taken up in the Brahmā cult. In Buddhist texts Śrī or Sirimā is a Yakshī. Śrī was identified with the consort of Vishṇu, Lakshmī, in Vaiṣṇavism; Śrī and Prithivī, as Vishṇu's wives were therefore depicted by the side of Vishṇu images. The Mahābhārata

(XII. 108) while describing efficacy of obedience to parents refers to Vasumatī along with Prajāpati and Brahmā. These goddesses were originally various forms of the mother Goddess of prehistoric period and associated with the Brahmā cult.

The worship of Dharma and Kāla (as Yama) along with Brahmā led to the relation of the Brahmā cult with ancestor worship —Tarpaṇa and Śrāddha. Brahmā's worship was the worship of Pitāmaha. The worship of the Pitṛins is traced in the Vedas. The gods associated with Pitṛins in the Vedas were Agni, Heaven, Earth and Yama. The 'Pitṛiyāna' is mentioned in the Vedas and Upanishads. Yama is invoked along with the Aṅgirasas, Fathers, Navagvas in the Vedas (Rig. X. 14, Atharva XVIII, Niruktā V. 21). The relation of the Navagvas with these gods correlate these with the Rātra cults, as indicated in the last Chapter. A funeral hymn (AV. XVIII. 4) also associates Yama, Pitāmaha, Agni, Savitṛi and Pitṛins together. Pitṛikārya (worship of manes) means worship of the Vasus, Rudras and Ādityas (Manu III. 28; Mat. Pur. 19). The R̥gvedic funeral hymns are invocations to the Earth goddess and Yama. Brahmā's grand daughter Svadhā was married to the Pitṛins (Mārkaṇdeya Purāṇa). The origin of the Piṇdas as related in the Mahābhārata also indicates its relation with Brahmā. The relation of rātra cult with the Madhuvidyā and the importance of madhu in Śrāddha or Piṇdadāna have already been mentioned (Ch. 1). The rātra cult was a cult of Pitṛins according to the Brāhmaṇas.

The relation of Brahmā with ancestor worship is apparent from the Paurāṇic and present system of Tarpaṇa performed in honour of dead ancestors. The Mahābhārata (Anuśāsana; Cha. 9) relates that Svayambhū (i.e. Brahmā) established the custom of Śrāddha and nobody else can be the founder of this. The first mantra in connection with Tarpaṇa is "Brahmā tripyatām, Rudrastripyatām Prājapatistripyatām". Brahmā, Rudra and Prajāpati are thus corelated. The mantra of the manushya tarpaṇa as found in the Matsya Purāṇa (102. 17-19) clearly indicates the association of the ceremony with the Saptarātra

cult of Brahmā. It runs as follows "Sanakaśca Sanandasca tṛtīyaśca Sanātana/Kapila=ścāsuriścaiva Boḍḍhuh Pancaśikhastathā Sarve té triptim āyāntu etc." The first three names are those of the mānasa sons of Brahmā or Dharma, as found in the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas, who attained Sambodhi. The three latter names are in the great epic referred to as those of Philosophers, the preceptors Pancaśika. The Satapatha Brahmana (II. 6. 1. 25) actually refers to the opinion of an Āsuri in connection with a sacrifice to the manes. This Āsuri and the one mentioned in the mantra may be identical personages. Kapila is the earliest Ṛishi according to the Svetāśvatara Upanishad (5.2). Kapila, Āsuri and Pancaśikha are called sons of Rudra in the Brahmānda Purāṇa (Ch. 23). In place of Boḍḍhu here is mentioned the name of one 'Vākbalī', perhaps same as the former. Kapila, Āsuri etc. are also known as the famous promulgators of the Sāṃkhya system of philosophy. The relation of these Sāṃkhya philosophers with Rudra, Brahmā and Tarpaṇa thus indicate the close relation of ancestor worship with the Rātra cult of Brahmā.

The mantra of Śrāddha ceremony also indicates the relation of Dharma with ancestor worship. In offering the bull, it is said "Oh bull, you are Dharma. You will report good and bad deeds to Dharmarāja." The mantra differentiates Dharma from Dharmarāja, which was also the original position as shown before. The relation of Dharma with the mantras of Śrāddha perhaps led to the introduction of a mantra cited in Śrāddha ceremony in which Yudhisthira, son of Dharma and his other brothers are mentioned. The conversion of Brahmā's Rātra cult into a Vaisṇava cult perhaps led to the introduction of Viṣṇu in the mantras of Śrāddha.

The Brahmā cult may therefore be proved to have been closely associated with the cults of Kāla, Kāma, Rudra, Dharma, the Earth goddess, Śrāddha and other forms of ancestor worship, Yakshas and such gods who, though prevalent in the Vedic period, were not directly connected with or prominent in the Vedas. They may therefore be regarded as inheritance of the

pre-Vedic religions. The Earth goddess cult has been traced at Mohenjodaro. The worship of Śiva was also a pre-historic cult. The Yoga system was also related to the rātra cult of Brahmā and Śiva; and its existence is also traced in the ancient Indus valley culture. The Rātra cult of Brahmā had a special relation with the theory of 'Janmāntara vāda' (metempsychosis) and according to certain scholars, this might also have existed in the Indus culture. It will be shown below that perhaps the worship of Brahmā and Kārtikeya also existed in that culture and there were images of these gods. The Mahābhārata (Santiparva 309) has a chapter on Buddha and Abudha, which Bhishma says he learnt from Brahmā. It is therefore likely that the cult of Buddha (Buddhism) had a close relation with the Brahmā cult; in fact it will be shown that Jainism and Buddhism had originated from Brahmā worship.

It has been shown above that Dharma was worshipped in ancient stage in the form of a bull, a chakra and a Vajrāsana. His images were introduced in a late period (see his iconography in the Vishṇu-dharmmottaram—above). Similarly Brahmā was not at first represented in his anthropomorphic form, but was worshipped through symbols. The idea of his four-faced image is to be found for the first time in an interpolated (according to Keith) verse in the Maitrāyaṇi Saṃhita. The Vedic Indians who had taken up the worship of Brahmā in a modified form worshipped him in the form of the sacrificial citi' (altar), as evident from the Brāhmaṇas (see Ch. 1). Swan was a favourite symbol of Brahmā. Several animals like bull, lion etc. were also used to represent his symbols. A chariot or a pillar (Skambha Brahman) was also used as his symbol. They will be discussed later on.

One of the earliest symbol for Brahmā was perhaps the Aśvatthva tree, which was later on taken up by the Buddhists to represent the Buddha. In the Ṛigveda (X. 81-82) it is said, "What was the tree out of which they fashioned heaven and earth?" The Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa answers this query (Taitt. Br. II. 8. 9. 6) as, "Brahmā was the forest, Brahmā was that tree

out of which they fashioned Heaven and earth." The Atharvaveda relates (X. 7. 38), "Gods form part of the Skambha—Brahmā, as branches of a tree." The verse 21 in this connection is an obscure one. It runs thus "Aśachchhākhām pratisthantim paramam iva janāh viduḥ uto san manyante' vare ye te sākḥām upāsate," It is likely that the first word here refers to the branches of the Asvatthva tree conceived as the Skambha Brahman. In the second part there is a reference to the smaller branches of the tree or smaller gods who, according to verse 38 formed part of the Skambha Brahman, the main tree. The 'tree' was the Brahman, its branches were the gods. The hymn thus refers to the superiority of worship of Brahman and inferiority of the worship of other gods. The Skambha Brahman was thus represented as the Aśvatthva tree. In another Rīgvedic hymn (X. 72. 3-4), "this and earth" are said to have sprung from "uttānāpadaḥ" which is explained by Wilson to mean 'upward growing' (tree). This verse has been taken by scholars to explain the significance of a scene found depicted on a seal from Mohenjodaro in which an Asvatthva plant is issuing out of the womb of a woman with stretched legs upwards (uttāna padaḥ), and with her head downward. The tree thus was a symbol of Brahman or creation. The Rīgveda refers to the Aśvatthva tree as the "holy fig tree" (Rv. X. 97). Another verse relates "In the tree clothed with godly leaves where Yama drinketh with the gods, the father, the master of the house, tendeth with love our ancient sires." (Rīg X. 135). Here the Veda makes the tree the abode of Yama and the Pitṛis. It is from this idea that the custom arose of offering piṇḍa at the foot of the Aśvatthva or Baṭa tree, as is done at Gayā and other sacred places. (See Tīrtha chapters in the Māhābhārata). Thus tree is related to the ancestor worship allied to the Brahman cult. In the Atharvaveda (V. 3.6) we have an invocation to the Asvatthva tree for driving away and destruction of enemies. Another hymn (Av. V. 4. 3) says "In the third heaven above us stands the Asvatthva tree, the seat of gods." The Satapatha Brāhmaṇa refers to Brahman as a Palāsa tree (S. B. I. 3. 3. 19).

The Brihadāraṇyaka (III. 28) also clearly says that "Tree is puruṣa." The Brihadāraṇyaka upanishad also states, "The tree is identical with the lord of the forest, so is Puruṣa identical with truth. His hair is the leaves" etc. This also refers to the Aśvatthva tree. In the Śvetāśvatara upanishad (6. 6), a tree is said to have the form of Kāla (so Vṛiksha Kālākṛitibhir) a god related to Brahmā. (cf. Śvet. Up. 3. 9 and Katha Up. 2.3.1). The Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa (IX. 110) represents Brahmā as living in a forest and being born as a tree. In the Matsya Purāṇa (Ch. 123 39-40) it is said that in the Pushkara dwipa there is a nyagrodha tree in form of a lotus which is worshipped as a part of Brahmā, and Brahmā Prajāpati lives there. In the Nudiah district of Bengal, a Brahmāṇi festival takes place in the month of Śrāvan and an aśvatthva tree is the main object of worship on this occasion. Thus the sacred trees of the Indians were undoubtedly forms of Brahmā, (as both Brahmā and trees arise out of Prithivi) Kāla, Yama and the ancestors. Trees were also sacred to the ancient Indus valley people and figures of trees with or without gods under them have been found on seals discovered at Harappa and Mohenjodaro. The Vāyupurāṇa thus represents the Bodhi tree as Brahmā and the Buddhists made it the symbol of the Buddha. Coomaraswamy also wrote "At a relatively early period the lotus may have represented Brahmā, for he is the successor of Prajāpati who is born of the waters" (Hist. of Indian and Indonesian Art. p. 143).

The Avatāravāda of the Vaiṣṇava Pancharātra Bhāgavata sect was taken originally from the Brahmā cult. This must have originated from the Janmāntaravāda. With this is related the theory of the seven births of Brahmā, the various births (Jātakas) of the Buddha and the seven Buddhas. The theory was also known to the Jains and hence we find the twenty four Tirthankaras. The avatāras of Viṣṇu arose out of the Avatāras of Brahmā. The Fish, Tortoise and Boar incarnations are referred to in the Vedic Literature as those of Prajāpati Brahmā. According to the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa (VII. 5.1.5), Prajāpati assumed the form of a tortoise and created

offsprings. The Mahābhārata in describing the 'Fish' incarnation says that the fish declared that he is Brahmā (Vana Parva Ch. 12). The Satapatha Brāhmaṇa knew the god Nārāyaṇa, but still instead of making the tortoise an avatāra of that god, ascribes the avatāra to Prajāpati. The Vajasaneyi Saṁhitā (37.5), the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa (14. 1.2. 11), the Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa (1.1. 3. 5) refer to Prajāpati saving the earth or sacrifice by assuming the form of a boar. Sectarian Purāṇas like the Liṅga (I. 4. 5 9), the Brahmāṇḍa (Ch. 6) and Garuḍa (I. 4. 13) also support it. According to the Brahmāṇḍa, Brahmā took the form of Varāha named Dharma. In form it was a Yajnavarāha. Brahmā assumed this form to save Pṛithivī (Brah. P. Ch. 8). The Varāha then divided the earth into seven Dvīpas and seven Varshas. The Ramayana (quoted by Muir Sans. Texts Vol. IV. p. 33) also refers to Brahmā creating the world and assuming the form of a boar to raise up the earth. The name 'Vikhanas' of Brahmā had arisen out of this tradition. Thus the first three Avatāras are definitely known to be originally those of Brahmā. It is perhaps for this reason that in the Matsya Purāṇa (Ch. 47) version of the Avatāras, these three are not at all mentioned. The Matsya Purāṇa refers in place of these, to "three important avatāras of Viṣṇu" viz. (1) Nārāyaṇa from Dharma (2) Narasimha and (3) Vāmana. These three also are described in the Matsyapurāṇa in such a way as to clearly indicate their relations with the Brahmā cult. The Nārāyaṇa Avatāra is said to have arisen from Dharma and his priest was Brahmā himself. We have already shown the relation of Dharma with Nārāyaṇa and Brahmā. At the time of the Narasimha Avatāra, Rudra is said to have acted as priest. We have already seen that Rudra was more allied to Brahmā than to Viṣṇu. In the Vāmana Avatāra Dharma himself was the priest, showing the association with Brahmā cult. Regarding the Vāmana Avatāra, the Mahābhārata (XII. 223 and 224) relates that Bali after his defeat was given special protection by Brahmā. In the Bhāgavata Purāṇa too, Muir was astonished to notice that at the end of Bali's legend, Brahmā is made to appoint Bali a

ruler of the worlds. In the Taittiriya Saṁhitā (VI. 2. 42) Indra in the form of a jackal is said to have gone round the earth in three strides. The Atharvaveda (IX. 6. 29) speaks of the steps of Prajāpati being imitated by his worshippers. The Ṛigveda of course, refers to the three steps of Viṣṇu, but does not refer to Bali. The 'three-stride' legends of different gods are thus noticed in the Vedic period. They might all have been taken from the Brahmā cult or the Dharma cult and the Mahābhārata indicates the confusion that was created by the attempt to suppress the truth about the Vāmana Avatāra. The Vāmana Avatāra depicts a struggle between the Cult of Brahmā followed by Bali and the Vaiṣṇava cult of a Vāmana.

The Narahari or Narasimha Avatāra, also related to the Dharma cult, arising out of a pillar, might have arisen from the Brahma—Skambha worship, and the double meaning of the word 'Hari' viz. the god Viṣṇu (originally perhaps, Brahmā) and lion. The Narasimha is mentioned in the Taittiriya Āraṇyaka. The Paraśurāma Avatāra is difficult to be co-related either with Brahmā or Viṣṇu. Paraśurāma was a Brahmin and worshipper of Śiva. He fought with Kārtāvīrya a worshipper of Dattātreya also recognised as a sub-Avatāra of Viṣṇu. Paraśurāma is also depicted as a great obedient son of his father and to have destroyed the Kshatriyas on account of their revolt against Brāhmaṇ. His worship of Śiva might give a true picture of his position amidst these puzzling legends. That he fought against kshatriyas who revolted against Brāhmaṇ showed his championship of Brahmā Cult. The Matsya Purāṇa also refers to Paraśurāma and other later mānushya avatāras of Viṣṇu, Ramchandra, Buddha and Kalki along with Dattātreya, Māndhātā and Veda Vyāsa. Ramchandra was perhaps a follower of the Satya-dharma (not simply of truth, but of Satya as a god), which as shown before, was another religion related to the Brahmā cult. Even in the Vaiṣṇava Agni Purāṇa (11. 11) it is said that Ramchandra then came to know "I am Brahmā."

The Matsyapurāṇa does not refer to Balarama at all. His other name Samkarshaṇa, as has been already shown, was

identified with that of Rudra in the Pancharātra texts. It has also been shown how this god was incorporated into Vaisṇava Vāsudeva cult. The Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa also says that Rudra was looked upon as Halāyudha in one of his avatāras (Brahm. P. 23. 132). Thus Samkarshaṇa or Balarāma was more allied to Śiva or Rudra. The characteristics of these two gods agree in many respects. Rudra is regarded as a god of agriculture in the Vedas and so does Samkarshaṇa's emblem 'Hala' indicate. Balarāma is associated with Nāga and so is Śiva. Both Rudra and Balarāma are known to have been great drunkards. The Mahābhārata also does not mention him as an avatāra, but refers to 'Sātvata' as an avatāra in his place. Samkarshaṇa was thus a god of the Rudra-Śiva cult and later on incorporated into Vāsudeva cult by identifying him with Kṛishṇa's brother Balarāma. Buddha, the last Avatāra, will be shown to be equivalent to Brahmā and later on identified with an avatāra of Vishnu (See chapter on Buddhism).

The Pancharātra Saṁhitas increased the number of Avatāras to twenty four. The Vyūhas were also made 24 in number. These twenty four Avatāras and Vyūhas gave rise to the theory of 24 Buddhas and 24 Tirthankaras. This number may be compared to that of the tattvas of the Sāṁkhya system. It is curious to note that the numerals (3+5+7+9) attached to the more prominent of the various Rātra cults give, if added, a total of 24. The Sudarśana Chakra had at first 12 spokes and later on 24. The Dharmachakra of Asoka found on the Sārnāth pillar has 24 spokes. These numbers thus indicate how the rātra cults of Brahma were really connected with a theory of numbers.

The Matsya Purāṇa version of the Avatāras also indicates an important matter in this connection. The Purana first says that there were three famous incarnations, and names three, though the names are not the usual ones. Then it refers to 7 other avatāras and thus the number is raised to ten, of which 9 are past and one a future Avatāra. According to the Buddhists also there were three Buddhas in one Kalpa, five in another Kalpa, seven most famous, and one of them Maitreya is the

future Buddha. This also shows an intimate relation of Buddhism with the Avatāravāda and Brahmā cult or the Rātra cults. The general belief that Avatāravāda was taken from Buddhism thus appears to be unwarranted.

The Brahmā cult therefore must have existed before the time of the Buddha. Many scholars believe that an attempt was made by the Brahmins to create a Brahmā cult between A.D. 200 and 500 (Farquahar—Religious literature of India; J. N. Banerjee—Development of Hindu Iconography). Zimmer was of opinion that the mythology of Brahmā developed during the period of the Brāhmaṇas (B. C. 1000 to 700) and the creation of the mythology presupposes the existence of the cult (Mythology in Indian Art and civilisation, f. n. p. 125). Indian traditions, however, indicate its existence in the pre-Vedic period.

In a recent article in the J. B. R. S. (Sept.-Dec. 1948 pp. 32 ff.) T. G. Aravamuthan discussed the iconography of several seals found at Harappa and Mohenjodaro in which there are:—a god within an Aśvatthva tree, another man kneeling in front of him, something like a human head kept near by, seven (in some seals, six) human figures (apparently women) standing below, and a Bull-goat man stands behind the kneeling figure. The author of the paper identifies the god within tree with 'Brahman,' the kneeling figure as Kārtikeya, the female figures as the Kṛittikās or the six mothers of Kārtikeya. The Bull-goat figure is identified with Agni, the father of Kārtikeya. The whole scene, according to the writer, is Brahman's revelation to Agni, Kṛittikās and Kārtikeya, as he did to the gods like Indra in the story in the Kena Upanishad ('Kena U. 3. 4).

This identification of the seals may be accepted with certain modifications and may prove the existence of Brahmā's Sap-tarātra cult in the Indus valley culture. The Kṛittikās were originally seven in number as the author shows, but were also six in some texts. The figure within the tree cannot be Brahman, the Absolute formless one. It is the figure of the personal Brahmā whose association with the Aśvatthva has already been discussed. The prevalence of the worship of Kārtikeya in the Indus valley

is not improbable because of the existence of Yoga system therein and Kārtikeya is known as 'Yogīśvara' in the Mahābhārata. The Mahābhārata Chapters on Kārtikeya's coronation refer to Brahmā's part in it. The same chapters refer to the Kṛittikās attending the coronation ceremony. The Ramāyaṇa (Adi Kanda 36, 37) also clearly shows the relation of Brahmā with the birth of Kārtikeya and his appointment as the commander-in-chief of the gods. Kārtikeya, the child, killed a demon and thus struck by this exploit, the gods appointed him as their commander. An image of the Gupta period at Mathura depicts the coronation of Kārtikeya by Brahmā and Śiva. It is very likely that the Mohenjodaro seals depict the scene of Kārtika's victory over the demon and offering of the demon's head to Brahmā, the greatest of the gods. It was on this occasion that Kārtikeya was coronated and hence we find the Kṛittikās and Kārtika's father in the scene. Kārtika is known to have been born of both Śiva and Agni. Śiva was represented as a Bull, and goat was the symbol of Agni. Hence Kārtika's father is depicted as a combined form (Bull goat) of Śiva and Agni. Aja or goat is also Śiva's emblem. Hence the composite figure may be Śiva only, as in the Mathura image. That Brahmā was connected with warfares is evident from the Kena Upanishad itself in which Brahman is said to have "won a victory." This Brahman, though written in neuter, cannot be an impersonal god, but refers to Brahmā. Similarly offering of 'Vali.' by the gods to Brahman is known from the Taittiriya Upanishad (I. 5). Hence Kārtikeya brought the head offering to Brahmā.

Moreover, Kumāra, another name also for Kārtikeya, is regarded as the very first Avatāra in several Purāṇas (Bhāgavata and Garuḍa). These Avatāras have been shown to have been originally related to the Brahmā cult. In the Salya Parvan of the Mahābhārata, Kārtikeya is described as the eldest son of Brahmā. Kārtika is called Sikhivāhana (rider on peacock) and it has been shown that this word 'Sikhi' or 'Sikhandi.' etc. was peculiar to the Rātra cults of Brahmā. The Bull-goat form of Agni or Śiva as shown here may be explained by the fact that

the warriors of Kārtikeya are described as having composite forms, peculiar mixed heads and bodies (Mahābhārata, Salya P. 45 to 53). Thus all traditions about Kārtikeya indicate this scene in the Mohenjodaro seals to be related to the cult of Kārtikeya as the commander of the gods headed by Brahmā. The writer of the paper by reference to the Kena Upanishad story identified Kārtikeya with Indra; but this appears to be baseless, for in no tradition Indra was ever the commander of the gods, but the king of gods. We have shown that Indra was not originally the king of gods, but he became so in the Vedic period by superseding Brahmā.

If the identifications indicated here be accepted, we find that in the Indus valley region, Brahmā was worshipped in his image form, whereas, as shown before, he was generally worshipped in symbols in later periods. This may be explained by the fact that in India worship of images went side by side with symbol worship. But in the case of Brahmā, images are found from only the Kushana period. It might be that the influence of the Upanishadic religion had made making the images of gods unpopular in India (or in some parts of India) from the late Vedic period to the time of the revival of image worship in India.

Thus the difficulty that scholars find in connecting the Indus valley religion with that of the later period, though they could trace the survival of the former into a still later age, may be to a certain extent removed if we assume the existence of the Brahmā religion in the pre-Vedic age. The existence of the Earth-goddess or Mothergoddess and Śiva cults in Mohenjodaro also is a further proof of the antiquity of the Brahmā cult.

The later Hindu Iconography indicates that Brahmā, Kāla, Dharma and several other associate gods were also worshipped in their image forms, and they were really interconnected. The Vishṇudharmottaram description of Brahmā refers to his chariot of seven swans (V. Dharm III. Ch. 44). Brahmā is identified with Puruṣa (Ibid Ch. 46). "Rigveda is his eastern face, Yajur the southern, Sāma the western and Atharvan the northern." The four quarters are his arms. The worlds movable and

immovable are sprung from water, and Brahman holds those—so the Kamaṇḍalu rests in his hand. Kāla is indicated in the hand by the rosary. The seven regions are the swans in the chariot. This description of Brahmā indicates his relations with Vedic Purusha and Kāla.

Similarly regarding the image of Saṁkarashṇa it is said (Ibid Ch. 47), "Know the ploughshare to be Kāla, and the pestle to be death and with these two, the Rudra—Saṁkarashaṇa ploughs this Univerē." Here also Kāla is associated with Saṁkarashaṇa who, as in the Pancharātra texts, is identified with Rudra.

The Bull of Śiva is called (Ch. 48) divine Dharma of four feet. The image of Dharma (Ibid Ch. 77) shows him to be four-faced, four-footed and four-armed. In his right hand is rosary and in the left the book. "Kāla is traditionally known as the rosary and Veda the book. The four faces are Jajña, Satya, Tapas and Dāna. His fourteen wives, as in the Purāṇas are also mentioned.

Similarly, in the image of Yama, on his right hand should be Chitragupta and on his left "should be shown the terrific looking Kāla, holding a noose. Know Yama to be Saṁkarashaṇa assuming a tāmasi body for the destruction of the people. The consort of Yama called 'Dhūmorṇā' is identified with Kālārātri (Ibid Ch. 51).

The wheel in the hand of Viṣṇu is called the Dharmachakra, Kālachakra and Bhāchakra (Zodiac) (Ibid Ch. 60). In describing the image of the Sun god (Ch. 67) it is said, "On the left of the god should be a lion standard." "The lion appearing on the flag is celebrated as Dharma in person." It has already been shown that Brahmā also is depicted in the form of a lion and so was Dharma too.

The elaborate mythology, the antiquity, the existence of cult objects and also the popularity of Brahmā-worship may be considered as strong factors for giving rise to a special sect of Brahmā worshippers. In India we had the Gānapatya, Saura, Śaiva, Śākta and Vaiṣṇava sects, but surely

not any sect of Brahmā is known to have ever existed. Certainly this was the condition in periods of which the history is known to us. But as shown already, Brahmā was a pre-Vedic deity and so were the rātra cults. His followers, if they formed any sect must have been extinct in India just as Buddhists are not found here today. They were perhaps the Brahmins. This theory requires a full reconsideration of the origin of the Varnas.

The existence of the Varna system may be traced in the earliest known periods of Indian history. "The quadruple division of society is mentioned in some of the earlier hymns of the Rigveda" (Advanced History of India). Different theories were propounded to discover the factors that led to this division. R. P. Chanda thought that this division was based on fundamental cultural distinctions and that the Kshatriyas were the rulers of India before the conquest of the place by the Aryans. The Aryan priests were called Brāhmins and the ancient rulers Kshatriyas. According to a recent theory "The Aryan invaders simply crystallised and perpetuated a system which was already in existence and was based on the taboo arising from magical ideas of the Proto-Australoid and Austro-Asiatic inhabitants of pre-Dravidian India" (Advanced History of India). This theory is also based on still unknown ethnological problems of India.

The most popular theory, however, of the origin of the Varna system is that it arose in a late Vedic period out of the occupations of different people, the priests becoming Brahmins, the warriors and kings being Kshatriyas and the cultivators and merchants became Vaiśyas. The conquered non-Aryans who were of a different body-colour were relegated to the Śudra Varna. But this theory has been criticised by eminent Vedic scholars. According to Keith "We have no ground to suppose that there was a special class which reserved its energies for war alone and that the Industrial population and agriculturists allowed the fate of their tribe to be decided by contests between the warrior bands. But the Rigveda certainly knows of a ruling class, the Kshatriya, and the Vedic kingship was normally hereditary" (Cambridge History of India, Vol. I). Such clearcut division of work was

not possible in practice, not only in the early Vedic but also in later periods. The system of Varna, therefore, could not have been based on occupation in the primary stage, though in a later period, at least before Megasthenes, occupations were determined by the caste of the people. The sayings of the Geeta that "I have created the four Varnas on the basis of 'Guṇa' and 'Karma'" refers certainly to divine creation and "Guṇa and Karma" here refer to the actions and qualifications acquired by a man in his previous births. Man is born in the different family of different castes according to his actions in previous births. It is not possible to determine the castes of people according to their actions in this birth. The system would have been a failure if ever such an attempt was made in society. The caste or the Varna system was hereditary even in the Vedic period, but rigidity of occupation was a later growth.

Even in the R̥gvedic period, families were not wedded to a particular profession. The R̥gvedic ṛishis also prayed for cattle and riches and material prosperity. In the Yajurveda we hear of "rich Śūdras" which indicates that they were not slaves but earning money by various methods.

Coming to the Sutra period, when caste system is supposed by all scholars to have already originated, we find that the Śūdras had become merchants and exercised trade. Thus in the Sutra period, the occupations of Vaiśyas and Śūdras had not been made exclusive. The Manu Samhitā is supposed to contain all the 'Brahmanical pretensions' and to have rigidly fixed the occupations of the different castes. But this idea is also wrong. In the first Chapter, the Samhitā refers to the 'Karmas' of the various castes and the Karma of the Śūdras is described as service of the three higher classes. But it appears that here the word 'Karma' does not mean 'occupation' but 'duty'. For if the word 'Karma' is taken in the sense of occupation, the regulations in the same Samhitā in the Fourth Chapter become meaningless. In that chapter are described the occupations of the Gṛihasthas of the 'Dvija' group i.e. the three higher classes in ordinary times (not in the āpadkāla, or emergent cases). Here

we find that the occupation of a dvija (including Brahmins) having a big family is prescribed as collection of food-grains from the fields, gifts received without asking, begging, agriculture, trade and money lending. This regulation thus clearly shows that the usual practice in society of the higher castes was to earn livelihood by all the occupations mentioned above. This shows that in spite of the rigid caste system, the occupation of the three higher castes were not exclusive at all. The Brahmins also must have carried on trade and agriculture. That this meaning of Manu's regulations was really current in society is apparent from the Śukranītisāra (IV. 3. 19-21). The Śukranīti also distinguishes between 'Karma' (or Dharma) of the four castes and their 'Bhṛitivrītti' or 'means of livelihood'. Thus 'Karma' was not occupation; it was 'Britivṛitti' which was really occupation. The Sukranīti also clearly says that sages like Manu and others also prescribe 'tilling' as the 'Vṛitti' or occupation of the Brahmins and that 'begging' was not to be followed by anybody except Brahmins. Thus what is popularly known as the occupation of the four castes was not really occupation. Occupations were quite different from the 'Karmas'. It may be mentioned here that Manu's regulations clearly explain why in the early Jātaka stories we find innumerable Brahmins tilling their lands.

The Arthasastra also refers to the 'Dharma' of the four castes. There the Dharma of the Vaiśyas includes tending of cattle, agriculture and trade; and that of the Śūdras is, besides serving the four castes, Vārtā (i.e. cattle breeding, agriculture and trade—Arthasāstra Sans. text pp. 6-7), Kāru (work of artisans) and work of minstrels. The Arthasāstra regulations thus show that the occupation of the Śūdras was never slavery or working as servants of the three higher castes. The Manu Samhitā (Ch. X.99) also does not forbid the work of artisans and artists for the Śūdras. In fact, it is clear that the occupations of the Śūdras were not much different from those of the Vaiśyas, except that Śūdras were not to study and sacrifice (which are not really occupations). These regulations also explain why in the later Vedic period we hear of rich Śūdras. Thus the popular idea about the

occupations of the four castes appears to have no foundation at all, either in theory or practice. The *Manu Samhitā* regulations in the First Chapter do not therefore refer to the occupations of the four castes but to their duties or 'Dharma' as the *Arthaśāstra* describes it to be.

The *Arthaśāstra* further shows how various Industrial groups, though placed in various subcastes, were really occupying the *Varṇa* of the *Vaiśyas* or *Śūdras*, for trade and the arts could be followed by both the *Śūdras* and the *Vaiśyas*. The occupation of Brahmins and *Kshatriyas* also were not as exclusive as we think them to be. The *Arthaśāstra* clearly refers to armies composed of Brahmins, *Kshatriyas*, *Vaiśyas* and *Śūdras*. This is also hinted by a verse in the *Śukranīti* (IV. 7. 388-J. Vidyasagara Edition). Thus it is not a fact that in ancient India it is only the *Kshatriyas* who fought and not other castes. The *Mahābhārata* heroes *Dronāchārya* etc. were not aberations. The *Mahabharata* further enjoins that the king should appoint his councilors from all the castes. The village officers, according to the *Āpastamba Sūtra*, were to be appointed from the three higher castes. So *Vaiśyas* and *Śūdras* also were working in the government of the country. Thus the occupations or means of livelihood of the people were never exclusive according to the caste system. But even then a hereditary *Varṇa* system existed from even the Vedic period, and interchange of *Varṇa* was scarcely allowed. Occupation, therefore, cannot be regarded as being the basis of the *Varṇa* system.

It has been suggested before that the Vedas mention the worship of many gods of different localities. All these gods could not have been worshipped by all the people at the same period. Many of the *Rigvedic* gods might have been incorporated in the Veda from among the then existing tribes or groups worshipping some particular gods. Some particular gods might have been worshipped by particular tribes or groups or localities. Thus *Prajāpati* was incorporated in the Vedic pantheon in the *Brāhmaṇa* period, but his name 'Brahmā' was not accepted by the *Rigveda*. The followers of the *rātra* cults worshipped some

gods mentioned in the Veda, but Indra was not their chief god. The Vedas, when finally completed, had incorporated all these gods. Some of the pre-Vedic gods might not have been incorporated at all—such as the gods of the Śiśnadeva and the Mura-devas. Thus at the time of the rise of the Vedic cult or even in pre-Vedic period, there might have been people who worshipped a particular god or a group of gods and thus formed a sect among themselves. Other groups worshipping other gods might have formed separate and exclusive sects. Those who worshipped a particular group of gods might call themselves Brahmins, worshippers of other gods might be the Kshatriyas and similar other religious groups might be known as Vaiśyas or Śūdras.

Thus it may be that the Varnas arose out of the difference of the pre-Vedic people regarding the god or gods they worshipped—or, more popularly, we may say the Varnas were the names of the different sects of India in the pre-Vedic period. There are good reasons to support this theory. In the Purāṇas, it is said that Brahmā fixed the Brahmāloka for Brahmins, Indraloka for the Kshatriyas, Vāyūloka for the Vaiśyas and the Gandharvaloka for the Śūdras. From this it may be inferred that the Brahmins were originally worshippers of Brahman or Brahmā, Kshatriyas of Indra, Vaiśyas of Vāyū and the Śūdras of the Gandharvas. Several Vedic texts also indicate that Indra was the special deity of the Kshatriyas. During a particular sacrifice, a kshatriya became (temporarily) a Brāhmaṇa, and after the ceremony is over, the Kshatriya says, “with luster, strength etc., I return to Indra as my god” (Aitareya Brāhmaṇa I. 1. 9). This passage also indicates that Indra was the special and favourite god of a Kshatriya. Indra was considered as the guardian deity of Buddha who was a Kshatriya. The word ‘Brāhmaṇa’ has been derived by Scholars from ‘Brahman’ which they explain as a priest. But as I have shown before, the two words ‘Brahman’ and ‘Brahmā’ were identical. The Brāhmaṇa caste must have a close relation with Brahmā as a god. This is evident from early Buddhist texts, already referred to, in which Brāhmins are said to have claimed that they were ‘real sons of Brahmā, worshippers of Brahmā, heirs

of Brahṁā' and so on (see above). This especial relation of the Brahmin caste with Brahṁā is also known from the tradition recorded in the Bṛihat Saṁhitā (60. 19 Cal. edition and also Banerjee—Development of Hindu Iconography). Barahamihira therein refers to various gods specially to be worshipped by different sects and in this list Brahmins are enjoined to worship Brahṁā. As the Vedas rejected Brahṁā and set up Agni and Brahṁaspati (Bṛhaspati) in his place, these two gods were identified with Brahṁā. The above mentioned traditions clearly indicate that here Brahṁā refers to the god of that name and not merely to a priest. Thus Brahmins might originally have been worshippers of the pre-Vedic Brahṁā.

Thus the Kshatriyas were originally worshippers of Indra and Brahmins were those of Brahṁā. This is further evident from the fact that many later Vedic texts divide the gods also according to their castes, because, perhaps, the caste of the gods was determined by the castes of the sects who worshipped them. Agni and Bṛhaspati are called Brahmin gods (as shown above, the Vedic Brahmins gave up the worship of Brahṁā and set up Agni and Brahṁaspati or Bṛhaspati and identified them with Brahṁā), Indra is called (along with Varuṇa, Soma, Rudra, Parjanya, Yama and Mrityu) a Kshatriya god, Maruts (i.e. Vāyū, as in Purāṇas) and Viśvadevas are called Vaiśya gods, and Pushan (who is identified with the Earth) is called a Śūdra god (Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad I. 4. 11-13). These castes of Brahṁā and Indra thus substantiate what we know from Purāṇic, Buddhist and Vedic texts about the special divinity worshipped by the Brahmins and Kshatriyas. Bhū Devī (Earth goddess) is also known as a special divinity of the Vaiśyas (Matsya Purāṇa Ch. 154. Verse 77).

Thus it is evident that the castes had originated in the pre-Vedic period, different sects being grouped as different Varnas. In the Vedic period all these gods and sects were taken into a common homogeneous fold. The Vedic religion gave a new form to the worship of Brahṁā by introducing sacrifices and also perhaps a new turn to the caste system.

A passage in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VII. 19) refers to a legend in which 'sacrifice' is said to have fled from the Kshatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras and approached the Brāhmaṇas. This legend perhaps indicates that the system of sacrifice was first current among the Kshatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras and not among the Brāhmins who were worshippers of Brahmā and not of Indra and other gods of the lower castes. The legend refers thus to the first acceptance of sacrificial cult by the Brahmins (in an age which we call the Vedic period), after giving up the worship of Brahmā. Thus in the Vedic period all castes began to perform sacrifices. All sects were also then taken into the fold of the Vedic religion, and a new colour was then given to the caste system.

The original division of the people into four main sects gave rise to the four Varṇas and hence we find the division of Indians into four classes even in the early Vedic period. Though the rigidity and exclusiveness of occupations of the castes might have been a later growth, a germ of this might have existed even in the pre-Vedic period. Even now we find that men following particular occupations, or of particular caste, worship a particular god. The Kāyasthas worship 'Chitrāgupta' as their principal god, the carpenters worship 'Viśvakarmā' and the merchant princes of India are mostly Jains. Similarly it may be argued that the Brahmins, who in the pre-Vedic period were worshipping Brahmā, were very holy people devoted to religious duties and hence when they came within the Vedic fold they were specially selected by all as their priests. The Kshatriyas were rulers and worshipped a god of war (Indra) befitting their occupation, and the traditions of their occupations survived till the later periods. The gods which were being followed by the merchant classes of India were grouped together under the name of Viśvadeva gods or the 49 Maruts; and the merchants continued to worship those gods and to follow their old occupations. It was perhaps in this way that particular occupations were thus traditionally associated with particular castes. There was, however, no restriction or rigid exclusiveness of occupation; but the old

traditional occupations were recorded as the ideal duties or Dharma (not occupation) of the various castes and not as real means of livelihood.

The god of the Kshatriyas was not Indra alone, as shown above. Indra was perhaps the god of the predominant ruler of that period of a particular locality; but the other gods worshipped by the rulers of other places of India were, when incorporated in the Vedas, placed on a same level with Indra and became the gods of Kshatriyas. The gods of merchants of all places of India who had accepted the Vedic religion were thus called Maruts or Viśvadevas (gods of Vis or merchants). The worshippers of Brahmā were perhaps then limited to a small place and hence their gods after acceptance of Vedic faith became only two in number (Bṛhaspati or Brahmanaspati and Agni). The worshippers of the Earthgoddess and Gandharvas were perhaps the low class people and hence they were given the lowest position in the society as Śūdras. Their god Pushan also was not a prominent god, as only eight hymns are dedicated to him in the R̥gveda.

The popular view that the Śūdras were the dāsas (slaves) and non-Aryan aborigines does not appear to be based on facts. Dāsa in the R̥gveda not only meant 'a slave' but also perhaps referred to a tribe who had not accepted the Vedic religion. The Vedic gods fought with the Dāsas and Dasyus and killed them. There is no evidence to show that these non-Vedic tribes when defeated by the Vedic gods were turned into their slaves. There was a 'Dasyu' Varṇa, but 'Dasyu' did not get a place among the 'Varṇas' of India. If these were really made slaves, they might have been placed in a 'Dāsa' or 'Dasyu' varṇa and not in the 'Śūdra' Varṇa. There is no similarity of the word 'Dāsa' with 'Śūdra' except at the present day. The 'Dāsa' tribe might have been enslaved and might give rise to the meaning of 'dāsa' as slave, but there is no evidence to show that 'Dāsa' or slave gave rise to the word 'Śūdra'. Moreover it has been shown that Śūdras were never really servants or slaves by occupation. 'Service to higher castes' was their duty and it did not

mean that they were to be their slaves or servants. Further we find that there were 'Viśahs among the Dāsas (i.e. the Dāsa tribe) The caste 'Viśah also therefore existed among the non-Vedic tribes. The caste system or Varṇa system therefore did not arise in a later Vedic period or after the Vedas. In the Vedas there is no clear specification of the duties of a slave, and it is therefore hazardous to say that their duties gave rise to those of the Śūdras.

Though the various pre-Vedic sects combined under the banner of the Vedic religion, they kept themselves aloof from one another by grouping themselves into four Varṇas. Thus in a later period, this aloofness led to further exclusiveness among them in matters of diet, marriage and occupation. This exclusiveness was not due to the body-colour (Varṇa); but due to their different 'Varṇa' which might have (from root-'Vṛ' to worship or 'pray') meant the 'method of or objects of prayer' i.e. gods they worshipped.

The sectarian differences between the Brahmins and Kshatriyas are mentioned as past events in the Vedas. The story of the rivalry of Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra was an old tale and so was the legend of Paraśurāma's killing the Kshatriyas. The Vedic hymns often refer to the robbing of 'Brahmajāyā' (wives of Brahmins) and cows of Brahmins by the Kshatriyas and the Vedas contain the old curses which Brahmins showered over such Kshatriyas. Thus there were quarrels between these two sects. Sometimes a man belonging to one sect perhaps wanted to adopt the religion of the other, as in the case of Viśvāmitra; and the story relates how Viśvāmitra could become a Brahmin only after a strong course of Tapasyā. This Tapasyā was perhaps the original religion of the worshippers of Brahmā, as this is not the principal religion of the Vedas. Thus there are legends of a very few people of the Kshatriya caste changing their caste and becoming a Brahmin, but "there is no instance recorded in the Vedic text of a Śūdra or Vaiśya rising to the rank of a priest or a prince" (Keith—Cambridge History of India, Vol.I). R. Chanda also have cited instances of fundamental difference between the Kshatriyas and Brāhmaṇas regarding certain customs and

manners (Memo A. S. I.). All these differences existed in Pre-Vedic days and some might have survived later. This rivalry between these two Varnas made the Brahmins angry with the Kshatriyas when they tried to forcibly take away the girls of the Brāhmins. After all these sects had accepted the Vedic religion, perhaps a rapprochement was brought about between these people regarding the marriage problem. It was perhaps due to this agreement that a rule was made to the effect that lower castes men would not be allowed to marry a higher caste girl, but marrying a girl of the lower caste was not prohibited in early days. Anuloma marriage was allowed but not the Pratiloma. This curious rule about intermarriage between various castes can only be explained by reference to the existence of an earlier rivalry between the two higher sects and a later rapprochement to this effect.

Indian traditions of all periods thus indicate that the Varnas arose out of the pre-Vedic religious differences of the Indians and the great religious schism between the followers of the Brahmā cult and the Vedic cult. The Bramins were originally the followers of the Brahmā cult, but after the great schism, Brahmā cult was given up by most of the people of the higher class who became followers of the Vedic religion; Brahmā worshippers were then called Asuras. Thus did the cult and sect of Brahmā disappear as the main religion of India, at least of the western parts. In eastern parts Brahmā cult survived and hence the easterners were called Asuras even in the Brāhmaṇas.

The evidences of the existence of a real cult of Brahmā in a very early period thus make it clear that absence of references in the Vedas to this god was not due to its non-existence but perhaps due to its non-Vedic or pre-Vedic character. It was Brahmā who, as gradually there was intermingling of the Vedic and non-Vedic people in various parts of India, was also worshipped by the Vedic people of a later period (i.e. Brāhmaṇa period) as Prajāpati. Hence Prajāpati being a later growth was regarded as different from and son of Brahmā. Those who worshipped Prajāpati (adherents of Vedic faith) first and then

also accepted Brahmā worship, however, made Brahmā the son of Prajāpati. Hence it is that we get both these traditions in the religious texts. As Brahmā was converted into Bṛihaspati or Brahmanaspati by the orthodox followers of the Vedas, so perhaps was non-Vedic and pre-Vedic Śiva adopted by the Vedic people as Rudra. Neither Brahmā nor Śiva may thus be regarded as later gods, created by the Purāṇas. Śiva's worship has been traced in the Indus valley and so perhaps may the Brahmā cult also have existed there. Though the Vedas attempted to reorient the cult, its existence continued even in later periods and it exerted a tremendous influence on all religious sects. Hence it is that all religious sects of India ascribe creation to Brahmā and even sectarian works refer to the creation legends being associated with Brahmā. In fact, all known religious sects attempted to give authority to their religion and religious books by referring their origin to Brahmā the earliest god of India.

Similarly Śrāddha (ancestorworship) which was a cardinal matter in the worship of Brahmā was and is still followed by all Indian sects. The Vedic sacrifices are said to have originated for keeping alive Brahmā. Vedas came out of Brahmā's mouth. The God Absolute of the Upanishads was given a name which was only an abstract form of the name of Brahmā. God of sacrifice (identified with Brahmā) was Brahmanaspati. Even in the Buddhist period, people believed that the Vedas inculcated the worship of Brahmā. Jains and Buddhists showed honour and respect to Brahmā. It will be shown below that the theory of the Jain Tīrthankaras had its origin from the Brahmā cult. Buddha had also taken the position of Brahmā. In fact Gotama became the Buddha after performing a 'pīṭrikārya' as will be shown in the next chapter. The Bhāgavatas or Vaiṣṇava Pancharātra cult regarded Brahmā as a Vyūha of Vāsudeva. The Tantrikas regarded their Śakti-goddess as nothing but the māyā of Brahmā. The Sauras also regarded the Sungod as Prajāpati, as even the Vedic texts indicate. Gaṇapati of the Gaṇapatya sect was also Brahmā (as in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa). Brahmā's Avatāras were ascribed to Viṣṇu.

by the Vaiṣṇavas. Śaivas worshipped Rudra-Śiva as he was the mānasa son of Brahmā. Thus all later sects worshipped Brahmā indirectly, as the Vedic people worshipped him through sacrifices. Thus it is that we do not find any sect in India attached to the worship of Brahmā. Brahmā created religion and after creation he died. The Brāhmaṇa legend is thus not a nonsense but contains real historical truth. Brahmā was thus a god of the Kṛita Yuga; he was first suppressed by 'Sacrifice' in the Tretā; then arose Vaiṣṇavism in the Dvāpara and weakened the Vedic cult; then came Buddhism and the Pancharātra cult of the Vaiṣṇavas which destroyed the Vedic cult. But from time immemorial Śiva has been worshipped and is still worshipped in India. After the fall of Buddhism when Indians tried to revive the Vedic religion, Viṣṇu was made the prominent god because he was the only one of the Trinity who is found mentioned in the Vedas. All religious works and texts which still contained references to the Brahmā cult (as it was surviving here and there in different forms) were re-written and given a Vaiṣṇava garb. Thus it is that the Epics and the principal Purāṇas are now found to be works of the Vaiṣṇava sect. The Brahmā cult however, had mixed up thoroughly with all Indian religions and gave rise to the present day religion—viz. Hinduism. The Sāṃkhya Philosophy was a philosophy of Brahmā's Ratra cults and the Yoga was associated with Brahmā's son Rudra-Śiva. Hence it is that these two systems were more or less adopted and accepted by all the religious sects and texts. Just as Buddhism was assimilated by Hinduism and disappeared from India, so was the Brahmā cult assimilated by the Vedic cult and the later religious systems of India and has altogether been forgotten by the Indians. An attempt was perhaps made to revive the religion in the second century B.C.; and again in the Gupta period (300 A.D. to 800 A.D.) we meet with images of Brahmā here and there. Brahmā was accepted as one of the Trinity, but no sect was now formed by his worshippers. Brahmā continued to be worshipped by all Hindus on certain occasions only and as a minor god in all Puja ceremonies.

QUTBAN'S MRIGAVAT A UNIQUE MS. IN PERSIAN SCRIPT.

By
Prof. S. H. Askari

Some post-partition writers who have begun to see things from a particular 'Drishtikon' (stand-point) are not prepared to accept that the Muslims could rise above the prejudices of training and traditions and attempt to pull down the barrier walls of the differences of religion and language without some ulterior motives. They contest the contention of the late lamented Hindi scholar, Shri Ram Chandra Shukla, that the early Muslim poets of Hindi were broad-minded people who endeavoured to bring about Hindu-Muslim rapprochement, and instead of criticising or condemning the religion, mythology, and folklore of others, studied them sympathetically and made them the theme of their poems. Their arguments may be found even in what is a well known text book, such as 'Premakyanah Kaviya.'

Such people who doubt the intellectual honesty of even the loveable saintly ones may or may not attach much importance to the discovery of the precious and rare works, in parts or as a whole, of the 14th century and 15th 16th centuries Sūfi poets, Maulana Daud and Sheikh Qutban; but the reception accorded, even in modern set up of things, to the paper on the fragmentary Maner Ms. of Chandāban and Mrigāvatī has encouraged me to continue my search for such things. Maulānā Dāud versified the folklore of lurik-chandā in 781 at the instance of Malik

1. (a) Yah Kabi un Sufion ke Chaile The Jo Islām ke Prachārak The;
- (b) Ek Saphal Prachārak Ke Liye Yah Abasyak Hai Ki wah Birodhiyon Ke Dal Men Aisa Mil Jāye Ki Unki Sahānubhuti jeet le aur Pahichānā Na Jāyāi;
- (c) Yadi yah Kabi Kahāni Kahne Men Kisi Prakār Ki Dheel Dinkāte To Inkā Bhed Sihir Khul Jātā; (d) Wah Yah Bāt Bhali Bhānti Jāntai The Ki Bād Bibād Ke Ādhār Par Islām Hindu Dharam Ke Sāmne Nahin Tik Saktā;
- (e) Yah Qurān Ko Bār Bār Purān Kah kar Hindu 'on ke Hirday men Qurān ke liye wahi Sradhā utpan karwānā chāhte the jo Purān Ke liye thi (i) Ye Kavi In Kahānion Men Mādhyam Sai Naitik aib Ekādh Dhārmik updesh Daitai the. Inhain Sufi Prem mārgi kahna Ghalat Hai.

Nathan and presented it at Delhi to Jaunā Shāh, a prime-minister of Firuz Shāh Tughlaq—"Dāud kab jo Chāndā Rāni-Malik Nathan Sun Bol Hamāri; Baras Sāt² Sai Howe Ekāsi—Tehi Kabi Sarseo Bhāsi; Sāh Phiroj Dilli Surtāno-Jaunā Sāhi Jeet Bakhāno; Dalio Nagar Basay Naurangā—Upar Kot Tahe Bahe Gangā." The complete Ms. may come to light some day. The Maner fragmentary Ms. contained, on the margin, some stanzas of Mṛigāvatī, including 10 of Bārahmāsa of Sheikh Qutban. Now the writer is in a fortunate position to introduce through this paper, a complete, authentic, and perhaps, a contemporary copy of one of the many "Prem Kathās" by Muslim poets referred to by Malik Muhammad Jāisi "Rāj Kunwar Kanchanpur Gayo-Mṛigāvatī kinh Jogi Bhayo".

The Ms. which belongs to an old Khānqah³ of Delhi and has been kindly lent to the writer by his esteemed friend, Mr. Z. A. Desai of Archaeological Dep., is written, as usually, in Persian script, in Nastāliq character, on a country made paper which has changed its colour and become brittle owing to age. It has 90 leaves and the number of lines in each page varies between 19 and 16. The first page is missing. The scribe has not given his name or the date of the copy at the end of the work. There are some stray poetical lines on the reverse of the last page in a different hand and also a significant sentence on the margin which tells us that the Ms. was purchased from Momin Sahhāf (paper seller) at Akbarabad for eight annas in 1119 i.e. (1707) by Azizullah, son of Qāzi Md. Ārif. On the top of the first page we get another date, 1121 A. H. There are many corrections or substitutions, some times of the whole line, and there are additional stanzas on some pages in the margin, written in a different hand. Though these corrections and additions suggest better reading⁴ of the text, yet it is difficult to say as to who was responsible for the same. There is no clear indication any where that the author himself or any other equally well-versed personage revised

2. Shri Udaya Shanker Shastriji gave me those lines and I feel greatly and indebted to him.

3. See 14a, b; 15b, 19b, 18a, 21b, 23b, 27c, 34a, 37a, 39b, 41a, 36, 45b, 48b, 61a, 69b, 72a, 77b, 79b, 82b.

the manuscript. Altogether there are about 430 stanzas, each with 5 lines of the Chaupāi and a Dohra. Unfortunately the owner pasted papers in some of the pages depriving us of some lines or half lines. Such cases, are, however, not many. As regards the probable date of the Ms. there is much in the style of writing to warrant the presumption about its being an early 16th century copy. The present writer being incharge of the Exhibition of Mss. and Records. held this year at Patna, in connection with the Annual Sessions of I. H. R. C., brought 4 or 5 Mss. of the Mulfuzāt of the most celebrated 14th century saint of Bihar, written by Fazlullah of Ghazipur in 927. In them, in the fragmentary copy of Chandāban, and in the present Delhi Ms. of Mṛigāvati we can easily mark out exact similarity in the style of writing in respect of many letters and words such as ۱۲ and ۷ for ۶ and سون and سون for son, and ۷ for ۷ etc.

The owner of the Ms, when he purchased it from the paper-seller of Agra, could not have found the first or the first few pages, for only the last stanza and the 'Dohra' and the last line of the preceding 'Chaupāi', devoted to God and His creations, have survived, whereas the first 10 stanzas of Jāisi's Padmāvat are about the Maker and His Makings, and he, like Qutban, has only given one stanza about the Prophet. The sense of the first damaged line of the present Ms.—(1) Bhikh Mangāwā ...Molach Diye Sab Thā-on" is not clear, but the Dohā:—"Kāho Pundit Bare ? Siyānān Banche Banan (Panth ?) Purān Man Chanchal Asthir Jan Ā, heen Nischal Ke As Jān," perhaps means that however much a man may be learned and well versed and however old and experienced he may be, so long as his mind is fickle and not controlled he cannot realise the Truth (God). This reminds us of the idea underlying a Hindvi sentence "Khandā Hai Phandā Kahān", put into the mouth of a 14th century saint of Uch (Multan) by a 15th⁴ century saint of Bihar. The first complete stanza of the

4. My direct ancestor, Syed Jalāl Bukhārī, Jahāniān Jahāngasht (d. 785 A. H.) has been quoted in his rare work, Mādan-ul-Asrār by H. Abul Faiz Qazin Olā Shuttari of Bania Basarh, near Vaisali, in Muzaffarpur District.

Ms. reads as follows:—1. “Phin ! yah Rach ke Charit Pasārā—so kahat Manh Jog Sanbhārā. 2. Chitr Dekh Ke Khoj Chitera—Khoj Karah To Milay Sawairā. 3. Āpni ! Disht Jāyee Jah Kairee—Soyai Tahain wah Jot Sato Tairee. 4. Param Tatt son Lāge Tāre—Sahaj Rahe Man Prit Sambhāre. 5. Dākam Jablag Din Dhāwā—Rain Bhayeen Pāchain Pachtāwā. 6. Kānm Koh Tishnān Man Māyā, Panch Bayāpanh Kut-Pāwak Pawan Dhur Au Pānin Jablag Hunh lag (ek) suth” i.e. In and through His creations He revealed Himself and through this manifestation He perfected his designs and arrangements (The Infinite effected and maintained the connection with the Finite world). Having seen the painting you can find out the painter. If you make a minute search for Him you will find him out early and easily. If you turn your eyes towards (have an insight into) yourself, you will find the true light of the all-per-vading spirit there. If you devote yourself to the ultimate Reality you shall be able to adjust your mind easily. As the maxim goes, run while it is day (make hay while the sun shines): with the falling of the night you will repent. Sex, anger, false desire, illusion will envelop you, and lead you astray : while fire, wind, dust and water (constituent parts of the body) are with you, you will enjoy your existence. In these lines we get echoes of both Islamic and Hindu traditions. The Vedic verse “Eko Ham Bahu Shyam Prajeya” and the Hadis “Kunto Kanzan⁵ Makh fia Fahbabto An oarafa fa Khalaqtul Khalqa La oarafa and “Man Arafa Nafsahu⁶ faqad Arafa Rabbahu” are brought together and “Chitti Jal Pāwak Gagan Samirā-Panch Rachit Yah Adham Sarirā” has been interpreted in the Doha.

The next stanza opens with another Muslim tradition “Awwa-la Ma⁷ Khalaqallaha Nuri Wa Anā Min Nurillāh-i-Wa qull-i-Shai,in, in Min Nuri” and “Laulāka Lamā Khalaqtul⁸ Affāk”

5. I was a hidden treasure. I wanted to be known and so created the universe.

6. One who recognises oneself will be able to recognise God the Cherisher.

7. God first created the light I am the Light. Everything has emanated from this Light.

8. He would not have created the Heavens.

which Jāisi also has referred to in his lines “Kinhi Pratham Jot Prakāsu-Kinhis Tinh Preet Kabi Lāsu” and “Kinhis Aik Prukhn Nirmarā-Nā,nun Muhammad Punion Karā; Pratham Jot Bidh Tinhke Sāje-O Tinh Preet Sisht Uprāje” etc. It would suffice to give the text of this stanza of Qutban “Pahrain Nur Muhammad Kinhān-Pāchhain Thak (Tehik) Jantā Sab linhān. 2. Otah Lag Āyah Parkatsā (Pargasa)—So (Shiv) Sakat Kaitis Dui Khatā. 3. Jo Rasnān wah Nānun Na Awāh-Pāwak Jarey Munkh Na Pāwāh. 4. Pahlain Nānun Ki Bakat Sunāwah-Mukt Howe Indrāsan Pāwah. 5. Bharam Chād Ke Hiyoh Siyāne.—Nānun Bharam Kas Phirā Bhulāne. 6. Chahu Lag Sab Sansār Rachāya, Bahut Bhāonan Bhāo-Banchanh Panth Purān Layee Soranān So Rao.”

Next to the Prophet, the most respected and venerable figures for the Muslims are his greatest companions, the first 4 Caliphs of the orthodox period of Islamic history. As an orthodox Sunni Muslim, Qutban treats all of them, like Jāisi, as absolutely equal in thoughts and position and he differs from some Sufis who regard Ali as the “Spring” of the 4 seasons. The stanza runs thus “Chār Meent⁹ Kar Sunah Bakhān-Abā Bakar (Sudh Kar Jān) 2. Umar Inh,seon Dusrai Thānun—Jehke Adlak (Justice) Āhe Nā,nun. 3. Usman Bachan Dayyai ke Likhai-Je Re Muhammad A(d) rahi Sikhai. 4. Ali Singh Badh Āpan Kahā-Duyggam Garh Inhin,son Na. (Raha ?) 5. Asht Dhāt Ki Panwar Upāre-Kar Seon ulat Pahum Dhar Mārai. 6. Chāriyo Meent Āh Bad Pandit, O Chāriyo Samtool-Jenh Panth Dekhrāye Dinh Hi Tinh Kinh Jaram Na Bhool.”

Now we arrive at an important stanza in which Sheikh Qutban mentions his name and that of his spiritual guide, and also the Suharwardi Order to which he belonged: “Shaikh Budhan Jag Sānchā Pir-Nānun lait Sudh Howe Sarir. 2. Kutban Nanūn le Re Pā Dhare-Suharwardi Dinh Jag Nirmare. 3. Pichlai Pāp Dhowai sab Ga, ai-Jo Re Purānain Au Sab Na,ai. 4. Nau Kai Āj Bhayo Autārā-Sab Seon Badā Jo Pir Hamārā.

9. Jāisi says “Chār meet jo Muhammad Thā” un-Chahun Dinh Jag Nirmal Nānun-Chāron Aik Mantā Aik Bātā-Aik Panth Au Aik Sanghāta.

5. Jehkanh Bāt Dikhā,ai Howe-Aik Nimakh Manh Pahunchai Sowe. 6. Jo Inh Panth Dikhā,ai Dinh Hi, Jo chal Jānai Koyee—Aik Nimikh Manh Pahunchai Tah Tahān Jo sat Bhāwana Soyee.” The “Pir” or the ‘Guru’ to whom¹⁰ the poet was so greatly devoted was Makhdum Shaikh Badhan, the greatest of the spiritual disciple and successor of the celebrated saint, Muhammad Isā Tāj. Jaunpuri, whose brother, Ahmad Isā Tāj, lies buried in Bhainsāsūr Muhalla of Bihār Sharif town. He was an inhabitant of the “Qasba” of Ajauli in U. P. where he lies buried. We don’t know the year of his death. He was succeeded by his son, Shaikh Sadraddin. The 17th century writer, Abdur Rahman Chisti of Amethi, the author of *Mirat-ul-Asrār*, describes him as a man of great virtues. “Base Sāhibi Kamālāt Bud”, “Ah-wālash Āli wa Khawāriq-Ādāt-i-Howaidā Dasht.” It is significant that the celebrated 15th century Sufi Saint, “Abdul Quddus Gangohi, in his letter No. 117, addressed to the Afghān noble, Haibat Khān Sarwāni, and writing about true dreams and their interpretations says that “Shaikhul Mashāikh Allāmat-ul-warā, Qudwatun Nuqā-Shaikh Badhan” heard it from his spiritual guide “Qutbul Aqtab Shaikh Muhammad Isā” that the art of true interpretations of dreams ended with Makh-dum-i-Jahān Qutb-i-Zamān Shaikh Sharful Haque Maneri (the 14th century saint of Bihar).

The succeeding 4 stanzas are devoted to the praise of the popular and accomplished king, Hussain Shah Sharqi of Jaunpur who is generally wrongly represented to have died in 881. He lived at least till 910 at Kahalgaon as a refugee, for the last of the coins bearing his name, but not that of the mint town, is of that date. Of course Husain had lost his Jaunpore kingdom long ago and had also been deprived of Bihar and Tirhut by Sikandar Lodi. But he was connected with the royal family of the Bengal kings and with their help had made at least one more futile effort to wrest Bihar from Daryā Khan

10. He is not to be identified with Sheikh Adhan of Jaunpore who died in 975 A. H. Isā Tāj belonged to the chisti rather than to the Suharwardi order. But one and the same saint had Ijāzat from other ‘Silsilās, including Suharwardi.

Nuhāni, the Governor of Sikandar Lodi in this province. Shaikh Rizquallah Mushtāqi (Rājan as the author of Hindi poems, *Paimāvat* and *Jot Niranjan*), in his 'Wāqiāat' has referred to this fact. At any rate the admirer of Husain Shah continued to believe till his death that he would regain his 'Chatra' and 'Singhāsan'. The first of these 5 stanzas runs thus:—"Shāh Husain Ah Bad Rājā—Chāt Singhāsan Inh ye chājā. 2. Pandit Au Budhwant-Siyānān-Pothā Bānch Arth Sab Jānān. 3. Dharām Dudishtil Inh Kinh Chājā-Ham Par Chāna Jiw Jag Rāja. 4. Dān Dai yee Bahu Ginat Na āwā-Bal Au Karan Na Sarbar Pāwā. 5. Rai Jahān Lahu Gandharp Aha, yeen-Saivā Karanh Bār Sab Jahaeen. 6. Chatur Sujān Bhakha Sab Jānān, Ais Na Dekh, noon Koyee-Sabhā Suno Sab Kān Dai, yee Phin Dekhānoon Soyee."

Husain Shah Sharqi has been described as a great king who adorned the crown and the throne, a wise man and a well-read scholar, deeply religious as Juddhistir, and a generous-hearted personage whose charities were beyond calculation, whom neither Karna nor Bali nor Sarwar could equal, and who was approached even by the Gandharvas (aerial minstrels who inhabited Indra's heaven) for favour. No body could be the like of him anywhere. Though he was very often befriended and helped in vain by the Hindu Rajahs and chiefs, the poet obviously missed the mark when he says:—Maigh Danbar Chātā Bahu Tānen-Saivā Karnah Rao Au Rānen; Tarpai Tāp As Kahia Adani (Apman)—Ātah Amar Bhupam Jehu Jāni; Dānd Indar Bāsuk Seon Li, yai-A ur Dānd Lankesar Di, yai, Nahu Bir Na Ko Kini Siyānān—Deo Tanh Ā yes Inh Karmānān; Pratham Ais Bhayo Na Koyee—Sar To De, on-Suni, on Jo Ho, yee. Ek Ek Bolak Das Das phawā-Band Tinh Achkar Bakat Na Āwā." Notwithstanding the poetic exaggeration one can not but admire the eulogist and the man eulogized, long separated by time and distance : and though history may not bear out the poet, one can make an allowance for him when he says "Munh Manh Jibh Sahas Jo Ho, ai-Tor Badā, yee Kare Jo Ko, ai; Son Sunn Chit Lāyee kar Kaho Bāt Hoon Aik—Au Badho Hussain

Shāh ki Ah Jagat Ki Nek."

It is this Hussain Shah, a "goodman incarnate in the world, during whose reign, in Muharram, 909 A. H., after 2 months 10 days the poet claims to have finished his work. 1 "Inh ke Rāj Yah Re Ham Kahe-Nau Sai Nau Jo Sambat Ahe; 2. Māhā Muharram Chānda Jār,c-Bhā, Sapuran Gahe Nibāre; 3. Gātha Dohā Aril Ārjā-Soratha Chaupānia ki Sajā; 4. Shāstari Akhar Bahu Ā,yee-Au Desi Chunchun Sab lā,yee; 5. Parhat Suhāwan Dijiyai Kānun-Yah ke Sunat Nabhāwai Ānun; 6. Dui Re Māns Din Das Manh Jorat Yah Orānion Jā, yee-Ek Ek Bol Mont Jas Parwa Bakta Chit Man Lā,yee".

A student of history may rightly point out that Husain Shah Sharqi was not a reigning sovereign in 909 A. H. He had been overthrown from Jaunpur by Bahlol Lodi and had been driven out of Bihar by Sikandar Lodi in 901. But we know that Husain was an honoured guest of his namesake, the king of Bengal, whose daughter had been married by his son, Jalaluddin. Husain Sharqi spent the last years of his life in Kahalgaon and was alive till at least 910-1504, which is the last year in which his coins were struck. The last line of the stanza also attracts our notice for it shows that Qutban had read Maulana Dāūd's Chandāban and had been probably inspired by him for the Dohra of Maulana's Chaupai in which he mentions his name, runs as follows:—"Aur geet Main Karun Binti Sis Nā,ye Kar Jor-Ek Ek Bol Mont Jas Parwa Kahun Jo Heera Tor."

Now we come to the story which our Sufi poet has to recite in the actual language of the people of the region where he lived and which he had heard from others. We are told that not every thing he has to say is pleasing for there are two aspects of every thing including the moon and he craves the indulgence of the readers for gaps and imperfection:—1. To Ham Aik Kathā Yah Kahe-Jo Hamren Seon Sunonin Āhe; 2. Bat Narind Kahe Anusari Sunah Kān de Kahun sanwāri; 3. O Sab Kathā Na Āhinh

11. See my paper on the fragmentary Maner ms. of Chandāban in *Current Studies*, of Patna College 1955. One can quote many lines from Jāisi's Padmāvat to show that not only the thoughts and ideas, but the actual words are sometimes borrowed from Qutban's Mrigāwat.

Bhalain-Kuch Re Bhalain Kuch Jaisain Jalain; 4. Nis Kulang Nir Mar Bidhu Āhe-Dusar oar Dekhāwat Tāhe” 5. Yah Kar Bilag Na Mānain Ko,i-leho Sanwār Jo Tutet Ho,i; 6. Je kartār Bidkar Sarjai te re Chipawanah Dokh—Jo Na Kahā Parkanh kar Mānain Tenh kanh Āh Na Monkh.” Then he lays before us the tray-full pearls of his poetical effusions by referring to a mighty, deeply religious, and charitably disposed Rājā who possessed every thing he wished except a son to continue his name. 1. “Aik Bāt ab Kahun Risāl-Ratan Mont Anun Bhar Thāl. 2. Rājā Aik Sunon Ham Sunān-Āt Re Dāni Lona Bahu Gunān, 3. Bahut Katak Akant Aswārā-Dharam Panth Wah Dai,i Sanwārā; 5. Jo Kuch Chāhe so Sab Āhā-Aik Na poot Nānun Jeh Rahā. 4. Aiko Rāwana Wahson Pāri-Jo Re jujh so Tatkhan Hāri” 6. Arth Darab Hāthi Bahu Ghorā, kant Na O Bhandār-Māngai, Poot Do,’u Kar Jorain Beg Deh Kartār; “Khoh Bhandār Dai,yee Sab Lāgā-Jinh Pāwā Tinh Dārid Bhāgā.”

At last the Rājā's prayers and charities bore fruits and he was blessed with the sight of a son who was named Raj Kunwar by the Pandits and who turned out to be a prodigy. He could speak out his mind when he was only one year's old and at the age of 10 he became a clever Pandit and had read the Purānās (a):—1. Rāja Poot Mandir Autārā At Sarup Dhan Sirjanhārā; 2. Sasahar Janun Punyon Kar Āhā-Bahur Ujiār Jagat Manh Rahā; 3. “Rājain Poot Disht Phir Dekhā-Bhā Anand As Āwana Lekhā; 4. Karam Jot Man Dipe Lilārā-Lakhan Batiso Rāj Kanwarā; 5. Pandit Au Budhwant Hunkāri-Rao Kahanh Au Nakhat Unhāri; 6. Gun Gun Dekh Patrā Kon Karah Dehnun Sudh-Nānun Dharahu Nirmal Uttam Ki Lakhan Dekh Sab Budh; (b) 1. Bānbhan Tapah Guni Sab Lāgi-Rās Kand Dhanun Karam Subhāgi; 2. Guni Rās Bad Rājā Ho,yee-Yahi Sar Aur Na Pujai Koyee; 3. Tulā Rās Gan Nānun So Rākha-Rāj Kunwar Sab Panditant Bhākha; 4. Bahut Garah Anh Uttam Kinin-Kuch Re Garah Āhinh Sāminin; 5. Tenhi Gingin Panditanh Kah Soyee-Teyi Biyog Kar Kuch Dukh Hoyee; 6. Da,i Re Asis Jot Ki Phir Wai Pā,i Bahut Basā,o—Dhan Pariwār Kutumb Seon Sampat Jug,

Jug Ji, o Rāo; 1. Rajain Dhāya Āyis Dinhān-Pālahu Beg Jo Ham Kanh Chinhān; 2. Dhāyanh Iske Kheer Piyāwā-Baras Dewas Manh Bachan Sunāwā; Das Re Baras Manh Pandit as Bhā Pothā Bānch Purān—Hiakar khail Beech Bhal Marai, Nāgar Chatur Sujan."

When the prince grew up he became very fond of hunting excursions—'Kare Ahairā Sāwaj Mār-Rāat Dewas wah Bhayai Dhammār'. One day he embarked on such an excursion in a certain direction and he rode out with a hundred horse-men. He caught the glimpse of a seven-coloured deer, the like of which he had not seen in his life:—"Ek Desan Jo Ahairain Jā, e-Jan Rāwat Sang Lehis Tulā e; Charah Aswār Sāth Sab Chalai-Rajput Rewant Jo Bhalai; Begar Begar sau Janh sāth-Sārang Bān Ponk Le, ī Hāta; Raj Kunwar Phin Begar Parā-Nir Khis Sāwaj Charchai Kharā; Baran Sāt Ek Mirgai Dekhai—Apni Jaram Na Kahiyo Paikhai; Dekh Achambo Rāo Rah Phin Re chalā Nis (Tas) Ghor-kahas Bān Hun Kā Yah Mārnun utar Dharanun Hath Jor".

He rushed on his horse to capture the beautiful animal which was so fascinating that he fell in love with it and became determined to have it at all costs. Though he ran seven 'Jojans' or 28 Kos, after the golden coloured deer, leaving behind all his companions, he could not overtake the fleeting animal: "Chādas Ghor Dharey Wah Chahā-Dekhat Rup Paim Chit Gahā; Manamanh Kahis Tir Howe Dhranun-Hath Na Āwa Toh Pai Maranun; Charhā Turang Sāth Wah Lāgā-Kesar Rup Mirag Phin Bhāgā; Jojan Sāth Mirag Ke Peechain, Para Jayai Jo Akail-Begar Parā Sāth Seon Kunwar log Jān Sab Khail".

Now the prince reached the place where the deer was and there was no third between the two. He fell in love with the deer so much so that he lost his wits and the senses of his physical existence. He saw a huge tree with green foliage at the foot of which was flowing a lake. The deer being afraid of the Kunwar, plunged itself into the lake and concealed itself. The prince tying the horse to the tree and putting off his clothes took a dip in the water. But however much he searched for the

deer he could not find it. He was so much enamoured of the charming animal that he could not give up the thought of leaving it, be the consequences what they might. He would rather die there than change his feeling of love. The moon waned and days passed but the love-stricken prince stayed on at the place and wept, unmindful of the needs of his body:—
 “Rāo Akail Mirag Hi Jahān-Tisar Aur Nā Ahi Tahān; 2. Lubdhā Paim Kurangan Kerā-Bidh Bisrai Sudh Gayai Sarira. 3. Haryar Birakh Dekh Ek Mahā-Mān Sarodak Tinh Tar Bahā; 4. Kunwar Sankit Kurangam Dari-Mān Sarodak Bihtar Pari. 5. Tenh Manh Mirag Chipānion Āyee-Bahur Na Niksā Gayo Hirāyee; 6. Turi Bāndh Tarwar Seon Tatkhān Kāpar Dharis utār- Beg Baith Sarwar Manh Dubdub Dhundhey Lāg Nihār; Dundhai Lakh Na Pāyis Chāhā-Bisrā Sabi Jo Manamah Ahā.
 2. Jablak Hun Na Kurangan Pāwanun-Marum Inhān Pai Chit Na Dolāwawanun; Khin-Khin Paim Adhik Charhā-Dvij Chandramān Gahan So Gahā; Chāhis Bahut Na Pā, is wah, Kinh Nakas Thāda Bhā Tir-Roway Bahut Ano Par Ānsoo, Kuchoo Na Samanjh Sarir; “Jas Bhādon Barse Atwānin-Sab Jag Bharā Nain Ke Pānin.”

In the meanwhile the prince's followers who were looking about and enquiring after him at last discovered him near the tree and the lake : “Khelat sabhi Ahairā Jahān-Rāj-kunwar Na Dekanh Tahān; 2. Aik Aik Kinh Puchain Bāt-Kāhun Dekha Jojan sāt; 3. Kahis Mirag ke pāchain Jā,yee—Tumtah chalahu Jān Parey Bhulā, yee; 4. Dhundhat Chalai Sāth Sab Koyee-Raj-kunwar Danh Kanh Tahān Hoyee; 5. Dekhat Aik Birakh At Harā-Mān Sarodak Tinh Tar Bharā; 6. Paras Ghāt Sab Bāndhay Acharj, Inkar Bhatak Rasā,yee—Kou, Sansār Oat Phin Lāgā, Dekh Pāp Jhar Jā,yee.” They got down, bowed to the prince, and were solicitous to know why his complexion had changed overnight for the worse : “Utrai Sabai Near (Tir) Chal. Āyai—Ka,i Johār Sar Bhuinle Āyai; Āyai Baith Sab Puchanh Bātā-Sānwar Baran Bhayo Kinh Rātā; Kanwal Bhānt Din Biksāt Jas Kundan Āwai Mayank-Roway Chit Na Chaitai Bin Sudh Dabba Kai,yee Jam Rang.”

The prince was at first reticent but at last he opened his lips and told them about the seven coloured Dear (transformed into) a beautiful lady, highly decorated and ornamented with garlands round her neck, pearls on her fore-head, and the morris bells on her legs or ankles, just like a nymph of Indra's heaven:—
 “Uttar Na Dai,yee Paim Kadd Laitā-Srawan Nisanain Naih Par Chaitā; 2. Phin Re Kahanh Ham Āyis Hoyee-Jo Mansā Chit Pro Na So,yee.; 3. Kahis Mirag Ham Āgain Āwā—Baran Sāt Ek Bhāyain Dekhāwā; 4. Sainak Charhi (Saikit Pari ?) Kā Kahun Swāngā-Galain Hār Gajmotinh Māngā; 5. Nopur Jora Ghunghru Āhe-Nayan Sarup Jānah Na Kāhe; 6. Chanchal Chapal Chalat...Dekhat Binu Rup Kahai Na Āwai Yanh Manh Kay,ee Bal Ā,yee.” Again:—“Kahis Singār Sapuran Kiayee—Bahutai Choh Rup Bah Lahayee; 2. Bārah Abharan Bahur Sanwāri—Ati-Sarup Bahur Joban Bāri; 3. So Ham Dekhat Yah Manh Kia,i—Ais Na Jānai Danh ka Bhayī; Yah As Bāt Jāyai Na Kahai-Wah Apcharā Inder Ki Ahai.”

The prince's companions tried to persuade him to return to his father's, place who, they said, would pine away to death without him. He was however, adamant, wept tears of blood, and argued that his life was bound with the coveted one and he would rather die than allow any diversion of attachment elsewhere. Moreover, whom could he entrust with the work of searching out his beloved :—“Uth Chalahu Ghar Khailat Jānheen-Pitā Bāja, Tumna Jee,heen Nānheen Kaha Tumhār Na Pārun Minati, Jo Kahat Manh Jiw Hoyai-Jiw le Gayee Kia Pai Dekha,yee Nain Rahai Panth Joyai”. ‘Kunwar Bāt Unh Son As Kahe-Saglinh Kai Jain Chinta Gahe; 2. Sab Āpan Manh Manita Karāheen-Kunwar Chād Kahān Ham Jānheen; 3. Kunwara Bahur lāk Samajhāwai-Paim gahāwah chit Na Dolāway; 4. Kahis Chād Jo Tumna Hai Morai-Panth Dhundhai Kāpar Jhorai; 5. Dundhai Paith Kunwar Jo Kahā-Niksai lak Panth Kuchu Na Āhā; 6. Bahur Lāk Samujhāwai Sabmil Baith Kunwar ke pās-Kouna Bhānt Na Samunjhay Lubhdhā

Lai Upar ke Sāns¹² (Roway Laile Obbhi" Sāns); Kahā Tumhār Ahe An Bhalā-Bin Jiw Kah Jāyee Keon Chalā; 2. Roway Bahut Saril Sab lohu-Jo Re Dekh Tah Uthay Morohu; 3. Jablak Chāh Na Wah Kai Pānun-Maranun Inhān Pai Chit Na Dolā,nun."

His companions now sent a messenger with a written report to the Raja acquainting him with the state of affairs. The Raja immediately sent for his horse and rushed to the place, accompanied by all and sundry. He was surprised to see the emaciated figure of his son who wept, recollected, and repented. "Kahaha Kāh Kas Kijiyai Tās-Dhāwan Tabahin Rājā Pās; Kāgad lah Daiyee Bāto O Kahey—Jo Sab Bāt Inhānki Ahe; Chalā Beg Tinh Jāyai Tulānān, Kah Rājā Sunon Bāt.—Kahinh Kahān Āhay Kah Thāyen, Inh Hut Jojan Sāt; 1. Sunai Bāt Dukh Bhā Sukh Bhāgā—Rājain Turi Beg ke Māngā; 2. Nāgar Jahān lahu Mānus Aha—Chalā Sabi Aiko Na Rahā; 3. Bhayai Aswār Rāo Au Rānān—Pahar Aik Manh Āyai Tulānān; 4. Rājā Dekh Achanbho Rahā-Badan chānd Jonun Gahan Jo Gahā; 5. Murat Bharam Chipāyai Rahai-Kia Anal Birhā Nal Dahay; 6. Kahah Kāh Kas Dekh Apurb, Jo Cheet Rahā Nā Jā,yai—Roway Bahut Bāt Na Āway Sanwar Sanwar Pachtāyai."

The Raja learning the story from the prince told him that he was suffering from hallucination about the Deer and its disappearance in the water. He tried to wean him away from his wild goose chase and make him return home otherwise he might die along with him. Without him the great state was no good. The father said whatever was in accordance with time honoured practice and teaching and what was for his good, and he was expected to act accordingly. But the prince, while accepting the strength of the arguments, expressed his helplessness, and he requested his royal father to pray in the temple for his son. After this the Raja ordered the erection of a temple near the lake and the artisans came and did that. He then returned to his capital

12. Shri Uday Shankarji has kindly sent me the photographs of some (4) pages of the Bikanir Kaithi ms. It is worth while to compare it with the text of the Delhi ms.

The Prince was left alone in or near the temple. (a) "Raja¹³ Puchai Kaha Ham Bātā-Dekh kâh Kahu Jiwa Rātā; 2. Dekhayun soyee jāyai Na Kahi-Wahi Bāt Ke Chit Manh Rahi; 3. Dekhyun Aik Kurangan Mahā...4. So Jieu Le Gayee Kia Bhulānin-An Na Ruch Bhā,wai Nah Pānin. 5. Disht Rahi Tinh Mārag Lāgi-Jinh Mārag Wah Gayee Subhāgi; 6. Panth Nihārat Tāh Kar Lo,een Khinin Jot-Jiwan Jal Chahai Swānt Ant Ko Sāyer Seeph Mont; (b) 1. Rājain Kahā Bat Suno Mori-Punah Re Bāt Ahe Bidh Thori; 2. Mirag Na Pānin Mānjh Herāyai-Sapnak Sewank Dekh Āhai; 3. Uth Ghar Chalah Sāth Howai Morain-Nānhit Hamna Marab Sangh Torain.; 4. Kahā Tumhār Kahanh So Mānun—Jo Kuch Kahanh So Sab Parwānun; 5. Ham Bin Khānk ? Na Rāj Tumharain—Jag Rājā Sar Chāna Hamārain; 6. At Budhwant Sabhi Kinh Jānah—Tumna As Pita Na Ān—So Upkār Kahun Hon Tumna Seon Jinh Kahab Rahe Prān. (c) 1. Mānko Yahī Bāt Sun liho-Mandira Jāyai Mān Par Diho; 2. Kahinh Bhānt As Mandira Jāwai-Mān Sarodak Jinh Manh Āway; 3. Rajah Nekanh Kaha Bulā,yai—Bhawan Apurab Deh Uthā,yai; 4. Yahī Rājā,is Kunwar Na Kera—Re Kahanh Tah Lāg Na Berā; 5. Sabanh Son Ham Āyes Parwānān-Pāti likhai Des Bhayai Ānān (?) 6. Bār Bodh Sab Ayes Linhin Rahe Na Koyee Jā,yai—Rājā Chala Nagar Kinh Phir Ke Nekanh Chinta Lā,yai". (d) "Des log Kinh Patha,i Pātai—Beg Au Ko,ū Rahe Na Rātai; 2. Bār Bodh Jahwān Lah Āhā-Beg Ā,ō Ghar Ko,ū Na Rahā; 3. Thawa,i, Badha,i Aur—Lohāro-Āyai Patherā Au Janhāro; 4. Āyai Sonār Jo Dhāri Pāni (Pauni)—Chitra Chaterā At Ranbāni; 5. Karvtiā Bahu Āyai Kanderā—Mandir Achāwatlāg Na Berā; 6. Satinh Nipun khāl Dekhrāyee, Mandir Uthai Bahu Bhānt—Āpan Āpan Kāj Sawārinh, Baithey Pathanh Pānt."

Very soon the seven storied structure provided with beautiful windows and frescoes containing pictures of Hindu mythology and also animals including the Deer was completed :—"Khand Upar Khand Sāt Achā,i—Dhare Jharokhā At

13. These stanzas have been deliberately given in full here to facilitate comparison and collation with the photographic representation of Bikanir and Delhi Ms. stanzas 27-29 of the Delhi Ms. are on p. 6 of the Bikanir ms.

Re Suhā,i; Chār Nopur Chaturang Sanwārain—Jān Chahun Das Sachain Utārain; Tinh Upar Chaukhandi Sanwāri—Gāng Pāni Au Inkar Dhāri;...Rām Ramāyain Chaitā—Rāwan Hare Rām Ghar Sitā; Kanh Sahans Solah Sunun Gopai—Angad Jāngh Lankā Manh Ropāi;...Singh Miragh Kasturi Pārihi Sāwaj Pāthanh Pāth; Lehā Bhartari Au Pingale-Jenh Biyog Jogi Sang Chalā; Arjun Rāh Bidh Jas Kitā—Kanwaru Mār Darupdi Jeetā; Rig Jug Sām Atharban Anān—Pandit Sahdeo Lahā Siyānān etc.

Seeing the picture of the Deer which always floated before the mind's eye of the prince, he shed tears all alone in the temple near the lake, night and day. Once, he found the maid servant (wet nurse) standing in the place. It was she who later told him how to attain his beloved "Wahai Kurangain Chitr Arehi Jain At Ke Upkār—Dekh Dekh Tah Rowai Sanbhray Jewan Ohai Ohār; Sanwarai Tāh Jo Dekhas Āhā—Rowo Bahut Sang Ko,-ū Na Rahā; Dhā,yee Aik Achai Tah Thā,nain-Khair Moh Kuch Kahay Pachānain; Khin Ek Dhā,yee Bāt Jab Lā,way-Phin Jieu Jā,yai Jahān Wah Pāwai; Nis Bāsir Bib Taisanh Khin Ek Dusar chit Na Karā,c—Chitr Mahat Kaind Jiwan Kaisanh Utar Na Jā,ē'.

The prince remained on the bank of the lake for more than a year, yearning all the time after the Dear. Seasons after season passed away, but he remained steadfast in his resolve to get the coveted one. One day he saw seven Aapsara-like women sporting and taking their bath in the lake. They were all alike, born of the same father and were very beautiful, but one of them was like the moon among the stars (a):—"Sarwar Tir Baras Din Rahā-Chāh Kurangan Mukh Ko Gahā; 2. Sisir Haiyun Au Sarad Basantā--Greeham Okham Na Jāne Mantā; 3. Kahat Ritu Dhekhat Aisanh Gayee—Bahu Upkār Kathā Yah Bhayee; 4. Din Ek Mārag Jot Ahā—Uthā Babandrā Dekhat Rahā; 5. Phin Ānkhanh Tarās Kuch Āwā—Ā, yee Indra Apcharanh Dekhrāwā; 6. Dekhat Parā Murcha Ke Enkanh, Phin Otah Panth Sanbhār—Kud Karanh Rahasanh Sarwar Manh Khailanh Sabi Dhamār; (b) 1. Sāt Jananin Sāto At Ionin-Chānd

Chaudas Āyai Sapunin; 2. Sāto Aik Pitā Ki Jaramin-Rang Aik Seon Āwana ? Maramin; 3. Enh Manh Aik Apurab Āhai —Kahā Barankon ? Jayain Nibāhai ;? Janu Ākās Chānd Prākāsā-Wai Sab Nakhat Jehnun Das Disā 5. Rajkunwar Man As Howai Lāgā-Kashtan Lāg Sait Rang Bhāgā.”

The new environment struck the nymph-like seven ladies, the cleverest of them remarking that they should withdraw from the enchanted place. They came there once a year but never had love been so developed. They knew how to fly and assume new guise. They began to prepare themselves for the flight after coming out of the lake and taking their clothes. The prince seemed to have had a glance over the one he was dying for. As soon as they saw him advancing towards them they moved away:—1. Sabi Sahailin Khailat Āheen-Dekhtan Mandir Achanbho Raheen; 2. Enh Manh Aik Siyāni Ahe-Man Sankā,ye Wain Bāt Jo Kahe; 3. Baras Dewas Ek Bār Ham Āwana-Kabhu Chāh Na Mansai Pāwano; 4. Ablah Ais Na Soyah Kāhe-Jablag Charit Kinh Kuch Āhe; 5. Sajag Hoh Chādah Baurā,i-Jo Kuch Ho,i Kahā Ke,i Ja,i; 6. Kai Gayān Man Bujh Sanbhal Utha Chalah Sang Sāth—Jo Kuch Ho Yai Kahā Tu Kije Yai, Kuchu Na Lāge Hāth; 1. Bārinh Mānjh Chānd Jo Āhe—Tain Ek Bāt Ap Seon Kahe; 2. Mānus Hamanh Pāwa Danh Kahān-Chāhanh Udna Jānh Chit Jahān; 5. O Phin Bhais Dharanh Jas Bhāwe-Chāhat Hamna Kahān Ko,i Pāwe; Kahat Bāt Sab Bāhar Bhayeen-Cheer Sawārinh Paheranh Laiyeen; Raj Kunwar Wah Dekhat Kahā; Paheranh Cheer Sawārinh Jahān; Kanwal Badan Sab Āheen So Nāraen—Rup Sarup Sohāg Sanwārin; Āmi Sarā,e Badan Jo Ahe-Rāi Dekh Chit Chait Na Rahe; Jehi Ke Neh Lāg At Kiā—Dekhis Wahi Chāh Tah Li,ā; Chalā Dhā,yai Tah Thā,yain Nanmanh Kahis Parun Lai Pāyai—Rajkunwar Kinh Āwat Dekhat Sāton Chalin Udāyai.”

When the prince was bewailing over his sorry solitary life “Sang Na Sāthi Meent Na Āhā-Kou Re Sandes Pitā Seon Kahā,” there came the wet nurse near him and found him motionless and breathless. She was asked about the Seven ladies, one of

whom was thousand and ten among others in beauty. "Dhā-
yee Āyee Jo Dekhai Pāsā-Mukh Phenphar Tan Āh Na Sānsā;
Sāt Jananin Āyeen Apcharā—Tenh Manh Aik Sahas Das
Kārā" The nurse then gave the clue needed by the prince
for the success of his quest. She told him what she had heard
from a Yogin about the queen who had assumed the garb
of the dear. This Mrigavat was a deeply religious lady who
observed Ekādasi vow, abstaining even from water in her fast.
On the Nirjal Ekadasi day she would pay a visit to the temple
and take her bath in the lake water with her companions. If the
prince could sieze her clothes, he might win her hands:—1. Dhā-
yen Kahā Yah Kāran Bhutā—Samanjh Kunwar Sun Rājain
Putā; 2. Yah Re Bāt Ki Chintā Na Ki Jai—Hun Bidh Kahun
Srawan Sun Ijīyai; 3. Ahā Aik Budhwant Jogini—Yah Re Bāt
Ham Wah Son Suni; 4. To Ham Bāt Seekh Kai Lahi—Hun
Bidh Kahun Jāyai Jo Kahi; Mrigāwat Rāni Hi Thāwā-Karay
Ekādas Nirjal Āwā; Wah Iugā,yi Tehi Thānain, Jenhthān
Phin Prasah Kinh Awo-Tehkan Hāth Āwahu Torain Cheer
Laiyee Jo Pāwā."

The hint was taken to heart, and on the day suggested the
prince concealed himself with a view to seizing the clothes of
Mrigawāt when she came with her companions. They
put side their clothes and ornaments and entered the water.
The prince's movement excited the suspicions of the other
ladies and they went out with their clothes. But Mrigāwat was
taken aback and found her dress missing:—"Dhāyek Māntar
Srawan Chit Chāwā—Sarwar Tiranh Kop Rasāwā; 2. Jo
Nirjala Ekadās Āyee—Tah Tahān Chip Ke Rahā Lukā,yee; 3.
Mrigāwat Sab Sakhin Bulā,een-Enheen Sahailin Te Sab Āyeen;
4. Āpan Bāt-Sakhinh Son Kahā-Aur Bāt Jahwan Lah Ahā; 5.
Yah Tai Aik Na Bakti Bātā—Jo Jiṽ Rāj Kunwar Seon Rātā;
Saij Kon chahn Chitati Lāge, Kah Na Kāh Seon Bāt-Yahā
Bāt Pai Mānganh Bidh Son, Jo Re Kunwar Chit Rāt". The
nymphs now came for the bath, used their toilet and indulged
in sports. "Sab Hunkār Ke Kohan Bha,yeen—Chandan
Chirak Phul Bahr Lai,yeen; Rūp Sarup Subhāg Sanwārin-

Chamak Chaleen Sab Joban Bārin; Kud Karanh wai Sabad Sohāneen; Sarwar Tir Nimikh Manh Āneen; Abharan Cheer Utār Dhar Baitheen Sabai Anhāyai-Chānd Nakhat Ke Tārā Sarwar Ānhe Nahāyae (Sas Re Nakhat Lai Tārāi Sarwar, Khaile Āyai); Rājkunwar Jinh Haito Lukānan-Daikhis Kanwal Bhānt Biksānān; Jyon Sas Daikh Kamud Biksāyai-Pāwas Chand Chakor Mil Āyai; Jain Dhukchuki O Man Bhitār, Kahis Cheer Ab Le-ūn-Cheer Na Āo Hāth Jo Morain, To-u Inh Thānun Maryun; Waisambhar Ke Niksā Dhā,yai—Cheer Tāhkar Lainis Chāh,ai; Sanwaras So Bidh Dhāyan Jo Kahay-Cheer lehis Mrigāwat Rahai; Enh Aru Manse Kar Pāwā-Cheer Lai,yee Ko Mag Lawa Āwā; Sab Āpan Āpan Kon Dhā,een-Cheer Lai,yee Kon Bahar Āyeen; Āpan Āpan Linhin Cheero—Mrigāwat Kar Kaho Na Khairo". Here one is reminded of Jāisis' Mansorobar Ashnān Khand.

On coming out, Mrigavat did not find her "Sāri", and she ran back to the water. Seeing the prince standing on the bank of the lake she addressed him reproachingly. The prince replied that since about two years before when he had first seen her in the guise of a deer he had fallen in love with her and had undergone many hardships on her account, but had stuck to the place. He had not listened to the advice even of his father and had been staying in that temple in the hope of getting her:—"Mrigāvatī Na Sāri Pā,yee—Dhā,yee Phin Pāni Manh Ā,yee; 2. Daikhis Kunwar Tir Hai Thādhā-Mrigātain Bachan Munh Kādhā; 3. Kahis Kunwar Tumh Nek Na Kinhān—Hamna Bichoh Sakhin So Dinhān; 4. Kunwar Kahā Sun Bātak Moridusar Baras Jāhi Mah Tori; 5. Wah Din Sanwar Mirag Ho,yai Āyee-Chit Hamār linh Baurā,yee; 6. Wah Din Hutaīn Bhayeen jiw Morā, Chit Man Lāgio Toh-Dusar Baras Samoya Tisar Anthān Bhayo Jo Moh; 1. Aur Bahut Dukh To Lag Dai-khun-Kahay Na Jā,yai Adhik At Laikhun 2. Jo Tu Sunah To Sab Dukh Kahun-Hiya,een Pir Kaisain Ke Rahun; 3. Jinh Din Mirag Chād Ghar Āyee-Paim Phānd Pāchain Sang Āyee; 4. Tun To Naih Manh Kais Bulāyai—~~Hun Yaph~~ Thāoon Par-yon Murjhāyai; 5. Hāth Pāo Main Sar Na Sambhārā-Aur

Bahut Dukh Kahio upāra; 6. Pityan Āyai Samunjhāyon Bahu Bidh Keon Na Thalag Sāth-Mandira Jāyee Rahiyon Yah Thānain Mat Kaisnah Āwa Hāth."

The prince added that when she made her appearance again, accompanied with her female friends, he rushed forward with a view to throwing himself at her feet. It was for her sake that he had given up perfumes, flowers, betel leaves, and even parents and the whole world :—"Phin Tain Dusrain Dinh Dekhāyai-Sakhinh Sāth Lai Sarwar Āyai; 2. Dekhun Toh Daur Ke Āyon-Jee Seon Pāo Parey Kinh Dhā,yon; 5. Parimal Phool Tanbol Bisārā-Māntā Pitā Kutumb Sansārā (Ghar-Bara)" Mrigavat replied that she had assumed the guise of the deer on account of the Raj Kunwar and it was for his sake that she had managed to come next time with her companions. She had chosen the Ekādas days as the fittest occasion and had made no delay. When she asked him about her clothes, he told her about the advice given by the nurse :—"Mrigāwatan Kahā Sun Rāyā-Tumanh Lag Mirag Dhari Ham Chāyā; 2. Dusrain Toh lāg Hun Āyon—Sakhi Sahailinh Bāt Lagāyon; 3. Pun Main Kahun Ekādas Kerā-Āyon Beg Na lāyon Berā; 4. Keh Kāran Kinh cheer Lukāyā-Sakhi Sahailinh Sāth Chālāya; 5. Cheer Hamār Deh Manh Ānin-Jenh Āyes Tinh Ko Tun Sāmin 6. Tor Cheer Aun Dai,yee Napārun, Kahe Dhāyee Ham Bāt-Tan Man jiw Hamāryo Arpai Dai,yon Harse,yi Sāt ?

She asked him as to why he was not giving her clothes. She wanted her own clothes and would not ask for any other :—"Cheer Hamār Deh Kas Nān,heen-Aur Cheer Ham Phir Na Chā,heen." The prince replied that he would give her clothes of a superior quality :—"Tor Cheer Son Uttam Cheero—Ān Dai,yon Tah Āpan Khairo." She then cursed one who had taught him and given the knowledge :—"Maro Soyee Jai,in Tah Sikhrāwā-Yah Gāyān tain Jah Seon Pāwa." He replied that he knew what was good for him and also that in the event of the clothes being returned, there was danger of losing her! :—"Kahis Deh Āpan Āp Ānain-Manmanh Kahis Bhali Bidh

Jānain"; At last the prince gave her a fine garment which she put on and came out of the lake as bright as the light of the full moon:—"Kunwar Cheer Bhal Dinhun Onain-Niksay Phir Chaudas Jonhain".

Now the two being reconciled, Kunwar advanced, followed by Mrigawat, the intoxicated one. The former entered the temple and both sat side by side on the same Singhāsan (throne) and the nurse was told that the coveted one had been gained:—"Āgain Kunwar Chale Wah Pāchain-Gajmaimant Āwe Janu Kāchain; Rahasat Kunwar Mandir Manh Paithā-Sunon. Singhāsan Opar Baithā-Dhā,yah Kahis Dekh Yah Ohai-Jehik Paim Chit Chā,yo Mohe; Baith Singhāsan opar Do'u Jan Sārad Sang Sāth-Mrigāvat Katan Hār Kon Kunwar Mail Aur Hāth" Then Mrigavat said that if the prince was the son of a Rajah, she was also of pure and noble descent:—"Tun Re Poot Rājā Kā Āhe-Hun Kulwant Ah Tah Chāhe; Main Ras Bāt Kahe Ras To Seon, Jo Ras Kijiyai Bāt-So Ras Rahi Duhoon Jag Tākar, Jo Ras son Rang Rāt." The prince said that it was difficult not to accept her words for they were of one mind and heart. "Kunwar Kahā Kas Tor Na Mānūn—Toh Jiw Hun Āpan Jānun." Mrigāvat offered to serve the prince as a slave and to listen to all his behests. They were now man and woman (husband and wife) and would have the same ideas and motives (1) Jo Tain Bāt Sunain Yah Mori-Saivā Karun Dāsi Chahun Tori; 2. Jo Na Sunun Sunat Ham Kahā-Jibh Dasan Seon Khāndeyon Chahā 3. Tumna Re Bāt Jo Sunain Hamāri—Tun Re Prukha Ham Nār Tumhāri; 4. Aur Bhāo Sab Mānah Moson Aik Bhāvana Ho,yai-Āway Daih Sahailinh Jo Jiw Mānun Karah Soyai."

The prince after consultation wrote to his father who communicated the contents of the letter to his council. They set out with due pomp and grandeur to shower their gifts on, and welcome the son and with the daughter-in-law. The Rājā stayed there for a few days and then returned to his city :—"1. Bāchā Audah Dohun So Bhayai-Pāti Likhay Pitā Kinh Kiyai; 2. Rājā Dekh Kunwar Ke Pāti-Bānche lāg Ughār Bujhāti; 3. Pāti

Bānch Sabhā Seon Kahā—Pāti Mānjh Likhā As Ahā; 4. Pitā Mor Tumna Jug Jug Rājā-Dharam Duishtal Tumna K'nh Chāja; 5. Baras Sahans Das Tum Kinh Ā-o-Saivā Bahut likhai Bahu Bhā,0; 6. Dharam lāg Main Tumrain Putanh Pāyon Jāho Chāh-Man Mansān Chit Pujai Morai Pun Tumhren Āh.” 1. Pāti Sab kanh Bānch Sunāyi-Rahsā Rāo Na Ang Amāyi; 2. Kunwarinh Kahā Hoha Aswāro-Rāwat Pāyak Sab Parwāro; 3. Pā,indhi Choot Turkam Ā,yai—Dekhat Haray So Baran Suhāyai; 4. Hans Gayāh Kumait Palāni—Sāwar. Karan-Umho Jo Āni; 5. Āyai Kararia Aur Sarāhā-PanchKalyān Sarāhun Kāhā; 6. Inder Balāh Kagāh Samund, Au Bhal Bhal Āyai Tukhār-Baran Kahā,yi Turinh Ke Ab Inh sunah Bichār; Chākar Khood Armont Taj Tāji Kandwāni-An Thāda Ki Khāl Pith Pākhur; Sanuwāni. Bhayai Aswār Rāo Au Rāne-Chātā Maigh Danbar Bahu Tāne; Bājan Ahe Jahān Lah Torā-Bājat Chalay Sabad Sab Purā; Darab Kor Ek Sāth Lewāwā-Kare Patoh Nichāwar Āwā; Rājā Āwat Kunwar Jo Sunān-Bhā Aswār li,yai Agmanān; Utrā Kunwar Johāri Rājā Rai Utar Kain Lā, yai—Bhayai Aswār Do,u Jan Hansat Mandir Manh Ayai.” Rājain Adhik Nichāwar Gahay—Bahu Bidhā,yi Bahut Ke Lahay. Din Dui Chār Bhayo Enhwān Ā,yee—Nagar Ki Agya Ke,i Ghar Jā,i.”

The happy heron-like pair enjoyed each other's company for days and days together. Nevertheless, Mīrgavāt was on the lookout for an opportunity to get back her clothes so as to attain her freedom of movements:—“Rāj Kunwar Mīrgāwat Rāni—Sāras Jori Da,yee Jawāni; Khelatanh Hasat Rahanh Ek Thāyeen—Din Din Odah Au Nirānin; Mīrgawat Man Manh As kahā—Ehkanh Jāh Mor Chah Jo Ahā; Jo Re Mor Hoya Yah Chāhā, Aih Hamār Na Gā,nun (Gā,on)-Kahis Cheer Kaisanh Kai Pā,nun (Pā,on) Udar Inhā Hut Jā,nun (Jā,ōn)”

One day the Raja, out of love for his son, sent a messenger to say that they had not met for a long time as he had become absorbed in Mīrgāwat. The prince decided to go and pay his respects to his father by leaving the nurse with Mīrgavat whispering to her to be alert about the clothes. “Din Ek Rāi

Moh Man Awā-Mānus Kunwar Ke Thānun Paithāwa—Bahu Dīm Bhayai Na Bhaintai Awā—Tumna Jiw Mrigāwat Khinh Lāwā; Aihī Bol Kunwar Jo Sunān-Turi Palān Māng Bahu Gunān; Kahis Johār pitā Ke Jānun—Dhāyee Rah Mrigāwat Thānun.” But he enjoined upon the nurse to take care of the clothes and keep them well guarded “Srawan Lāg Kah Dhāya Herdain (Heronain) Rah Sajag Bhal Bhānt—Cheer Lukāyai Dharaha Tah Thānain Jenh Na Pāo Dīn Rāt.” Then the prince rode out regardless of the inauspicious moment pointed out by the people:—“Ait Bol Kah Turi Chalāwā-Bhā Apmāngal Sagun Na Pāwā; Loganh Kahā Kunwar Na Jā,yai-Baith Khin Ek Inha,ī Ganwāyai; Kahis Pitā Kar Mānus Awā-Kaisen Rahun Jā,e-Jo Pāwā Jo Bidh Likhā Howai Tai Soyāi-Asgun Sagun Kāh Kar Howai. Chalā Beg Tanh Jā,e Tulā,e-Rajāin Dekh Kunwar Ka Āyai; Rahas Uthā Bahu Rājā Dekhat Baith Do,u Ek Thā en-Raj Kunwar Dhar Enhwān Jew Mrigāvat Thā,en.

In the meanwhile inside the house the nurse felt a victim to the charms of Mrigavat's captivating conversation and she allowed herself to be sent on an errand. When she returned she found the clothes gone. How could she show her face to the prince who would return shortly, and where had the flying Rāni gone :—“Mrigāvat ghar Baithee Āhei-Dhāyee Seon Ras Bāt Jo Kahei; 2. Dhāyah Ras Bātanh Baurā,yis —Kāj Karay Kon Anat Paithā,yis; 3. Jau lah Dhāyee Kāj ke Āyee—Sāri Dhundai Jenh Tai Lukāyee; 4. Cheer Pehar Ke Wah Re Udāni-Dhāya Achkar Kit Ga,ī Rāni; 5. Kahis Kāh-Main Mukh Dekhrāwab-Khin Ek Mānjh Kunwar Ab Āwab; 6. Roway Dhāyee Chahun Das Dhundhai Katahinh Na Wah Pā,-o-Kāh Kahun Kah Āgain Yah Dukh Kucho Na Bakti-Ā,o”

During the course of her search she found Mrigāvat sitting on the temple and requested her to come down as a good wedded wife and set her mind at ease. The nurse was assured that she was not to blame and was asked to convey to the prince that Mrigavat also loved him but had reasons to fly away for she

wanted to make the prince realise her worth and value. The prince was to be informed that his beloved belonged to Kanchan Nagar and her father's name was Rup Murār. After giving this clue Mrigavat flew off:—1. Mandir Dhundh Jo Bāhar Āyee-Dhāyee Ka Disht Bhawan Par Jāyee; 2. Daikhis Baith Mandir Par Āhā-Mrigāwat yah Kenh kāhā; 4. Kāh utter Ham Kunwara Daibā-Sunat Marahu Kāh tu laiba; 6. Āwah Utar Suhāgin Tai, Pit Hoyee Hamarain Man sānt-Tumna Na Moh Man Āwai, Pit Kunwar Je Kinh Bhānt.” 1. Dhāyee Na Dokhan Āhe Torā-Kah Johār Kunwar seon Morā; 2. Aur Ah Sun Kah Kunwar Son Bātā-Mor Jiw Ahai Tah Rātā; 3. Sampat Jo Pāwai Sun-khain Mulā ?—Tākar Mol Najanai Bhulā 4. Eh Kāran Hun Jā,nun Udāyi-Kah Kunwar Seo Āway Dhā,yee; 5. Kanchan Nagar Hamāro Thā,nūn-Rup Murar Pitā Kar Nānun; Yah Re-Bāt Kah Dhāya Āpan Phin Wah Chali Udāye—Dhāyain Rowy Pukār oh Re Inhā Hut Jāyai”.

When the prince returned and saw the nurse he found a situation similar to that of “Rām Biyog” created by “Rāvan”. He was so upset as to throw himself on the ground “Pachār Paray”, tear his clothes to pieces “Kāpar phārā,” and even to make an attempt at suicide “Ar Marey Kinh lihis Katārā.” He was prepared to go to any length and even sacrifice his life for the sake of his beloved “Jo Jew Māng Kādh Ke Day,ūn” He would build a bridge like that of Ram, burn down “Lankā” like Hanu-mān, go up to “Plankā”, and traverse all the seven heavens if he found any clue to Mrigavat, “Sāt Sarag Charh Dhānun Jānun-Jahān Sunun Ham Mrigawāt Nānun.” He asked the nurse if his beloved had left any message at the time of her flight:—“Dhāya Punch Birah Dukh Māntā-Chalat Kahis Tumna Seon Kuch Bātā; Dhā,i Kāhā Tumna kahas Johāro-Bhaint Khānt Kanh Bahut Apāro; Aur Nagar Kar linhis Nā,woon-Kanchan Nagar Hamāriyo Thā,woon; Kahis Sandes Kah Jo Kunwar Seon Bilanb Na Lāway Ā,o—Bahut Dekh Dukh Āway Mārag To Ham Kinh Wah Pāo,” The immediate reaction was bad “Sun sandes Sar Bhuin Dhar Mārā,”. People came to admonish him but they were themselves to be taken to be mad. “Log

"Dhā,e Sab Ko,u Samujhāwai; Loganh Baith Kunwar Samjhā-wā-Manh Samjhā Loganh Baurāwā." He thought his position to be similar to "Bharthari Biyog" and decided to become a "Yogi" and abandon every one and every thing. "Māntā Pitā Ko,u Na-Jānān-Jogi Re Sāj Sab Ānān; Chādas Lok Kutumb Ghar Bāro—Chādas Pitā Moh Sansāro." He assumed the garb of and began his wanderings like a "Gorakhpanthi Sannayāsi" with such trapping as the Brahman's sacrificial string girdle "Mekhla", Kanthā (beads), "Jatta" (long matted hair), Chakra (revolving wheel), Mundra (ring), Jap Mālā (rosary), Dandā (staff). Dhandhor (rod with iron rings), Khappar (Yogi's earthen cup or skull), Kesar (saffron coloured cloth), Pāen Pānwari (leg clogs) Rudrākhs (necklace) Chālā (hide), Tār (wire), Bhasam (cow-dung ashes), Trisul (Trident) Kingri (Bin or Vina like instrument having only two steel strings and 3 or 4 pumpkins as sounding boards), Adhāri (crutch or wallet), "Chalā Kunwar Mrigāvat Jahān-Sikh Sendur Agam Ban Tahān; Dar Bhaou Aiko Ah Na Karyai-Kingri Paim Bajāwai Jhoryai."

Passing through more than one forests, the prince came to a beautiful and important city, the Raja whereof seeing the princely bearing of the 'Yogi' elicited the story of Mrigāvat and provided him with an escort and a guide in the person of a wandering 'Jangama' ! The latter took him to the shore of a perilous sea. A man being buffeted by the waves was seen praying to God for his life. When questioned, he gave information about a cannibalistic Rakshash. The prince was also about to fall a victim to the demon when another came and the two fell fighting in the sea. Subsequently on a Sea Girt Mountain, in a fine garden, the prince saw a beautiful lady who told him that she had been kidnapped by a Demon who felt no pity on her parents. "Rākas Kanh Hun Dukhta Dinhin—Māntain pitan Moh Na Kinhin". When he enquired about her whereabouts and whether she was a 'Suhagin', she told him that her name was Rupman¹⁴ and she was the daughter of Devi Rai of Sidhiya.

14. All the ms. incomplete or complete in Kaithi script, discovered so far, have given the name of the co-wife as Rukmini. But both the Maner and Delhi ms. in Persian character, have Rupman. Perhaps the Pandit made it "Shudh".

a Raghubansi Rajput, and she had been made a captive by a demon who came once a year:—Tun Re Tiri Āchah Yah Thā, nun-Chādun Toh Suhāg Kanh Jānun; 2. “Yah Re Bat Puchoon Kah Mohe—Rākas Kinh kas Detanh Tohai; 3. Torain Pitā Nānun Hai Kāhā-Nagar Kaun Onhān Pit Pati Āhā; 4. Devi Rai Pit Nagar Siddihyā—Rāghobans Jo Āhe Ajodhiya; Pitā Hamār Hun Enh. Tai Dhiyā-Nānun Mor Rupman Enh Kia: 6. Rākas Aik Rahat Hai Tahān—Baras Dewas Aik Liyai—Yah Re Baras Asuri Ham Ayai to Enh Manh Diyain. The prince assured her that he would destroy the demon and he did that. This dissipated the fear of the “khatrī Gorkhā” lady “Kunwar, Bat Nirbhau Anusāri-Khatrī Gorkhā Man Nāri.” The prince destroyed the Demon:—Sāt Sis Chaudah Bhudandā—Jan Rāvan Āyo Barwandā; Rupman Kah yah Rākas So,yai Laiyei Osās kapay Ghabrāway; Kunwar Kahā Saran Keh Morai-Hun Mārūn Yah Mastak Torai; Kunwar Phir Ā,yai Chakar Son Mārā-Sis Tut Phir Ek Na Sanbhārā; Sāt Sis Son Ayo Peerit Inin Rah-yo Sat Nār-Jin Sumair Kar Phā, yeto Pirthin Ghar Bhar Paryo Hunkār”. The thanks givings, charities and ‘solicitations’ of he afflicted lady moved the prince, and he began to like her. “Rupman Bahu Binti Jo Gahe—Enhke Moh Kunwar chit Bhaye”.

She asked him to tell her on oath why he had become a Yogi, and who and what he was:—Kunwar kahā Tun Jog Na Hohi-Puchoon Bāt Sapat Dai,ī Tohi; “Kaun Nānun Ghar Kahān Tumhārā-Keh Kāran Tumna Jog Sanbhārā.” He replied that had she not put him under vow he would never had told her his life story. His father was a mighty ruler named Ganpat Deo, the Surajbansi Chief of Chandragarh. On seeing queen Mrigavat of Kanchanpur, he had lost his wits and fallen in love with her. Then he recounted the story of his hunting adventures, of the deer displaying itself in seven colours, and plunging itself, when chased, into the lake, and his undergoing penance for a year near the lake. He also told her about the gods being pleased and the coveted one coming as the Fairy and taking her bath, her coming for the second time, and his getting her after seizing

her clothes:—"Jo wah Sapath Na Daitis Mohai-Maram Najar Manh Kah taiyon Tohai; 2. Ab sun jo Punchai Yahi Bātā-Kahun Maram Jā Seon Chit Rātā; 3. Pitā Mor Rājā Bad-Wāro—Garh Chandrākar Atank Apāro; 4. Ganpat Deo Pita Kar Nānun—Suraj Bans Sidh Ham Thānun; 5. Kanchanpur Mrigāvat Rānin —so Ham Dekhat Disht Bhulānin; 6. PUNCHAH Kaho Kaisain Tumna Daikhi Ner Na Tumha Seon Āh-Sapnain Dekh Nirachai Koyee So Takh Dekh Tāh." 1. Din Ek Khailai Gayo Ahairā Harani—Hoyai Ham Dihis Abhairā 2. Baran Sāt Hoyee Dehis Dikhāyai—Bhulio Chit lāgio Yanh Dhāyee; 3. Dhāyon Dharai Napāyon Ohay-Pathano Sarwar Jiw layee Mohay; 4. Sarwar Tir Baras Din Saivā—Rakh Kin Gandharap Parseon Dewā; 5. Prasan Deo Bhayai To Āyee-Ayee Sukhan Seon lāg Anhāyee; 6. Chali Nahayai Paryon, Kahis Tahān Āyee Achāyon Dhāyee -Dusar Bār Āyee Phin, Sarwar cheer layon To Jāyee."

Then he told her how when he seized her clothes he won her and how, after, and due to her flight, he had become a Yogi. "Cheer Laihūn To Āyee Hāthā—Mānus Bāch Ahe Ek Sātha; Awadho Kahis Hut Rahi Na Bajā-Gayee Udā,yai Dekh Chit Rāja.' Rupman was very much impressed by this great story, "Rupman man Yah Bat Samānin-Sunī Jo Sikh ki param Kahāni.' Her father came to the place, saw the fallen demon, and learnt all about the prince. The "Khatri Rānān," Deo Rai, thought that he had no son but an only daughter in Rupman whom he would give in marriage to the prince. He would not be allowed to go and must give up the garb of the mendicant, "Deo Rai Man Asukh Āpani Ap Yah Na Jāyai De,'on—Poot Nānheen Ghar Morain Dehi-Jiw Palat Ke le'on; Kahis Kunwar Tumna Jog Utārah—Jog Tant Bisandar Jārah; Ādhā Rāj Pāt Toh Deo'un-Jagat Jot Palat Ke Le'un." But however much he was tempted he did not fall into the snare." Rājain Jogi Bahu Phuslawā-Kaisanh Mān Na Wah Baurāwāh." But the Rāja was determined as he said to his ministers "Rājain Punch Dekh Man Mantari—Yak Kul Sudh Rewant Jo Khatri: Rājā Kah Ab Karnun Biyāho—Jāt Na Punch Kahun Kah

Kāho; Pasra Kaj Biyāh Kanāwa—Neotā log Des Sab Āwā.” And marriage did take place.

But the prince continued to cherish the thoughts of his first love and was ever on the look out to slip out in quest of Marigāvati. Rupman scented the danger and was particularly afraid of the observations of Dharamsārs and moving Jogis and the old craze of her husband and once confined herself to her bed “Lai Khatwāt Pari Wah—Rani” Kunwar Sunah Wah Jayai Sukhāni; Sabha Phor Mandir Manh Āwā-Dekhat Phir Kai Ānsu Chalāwa” when the prince tried to pacify her she could not be deceived, ‘Kunwar Kahā Kas Rowah Nāri-Tumh Ho Mori Prān Andhāri; Hun Pardesi Ah Bhikhāri-Tumna Na Karah Man Par Jiw Bhāri; Kahis Kunwar Ham Seon Chaturā, in-Jo Re Charā, ya Tain Ham Gā, in; Dhut Jānun Bujha, ūn Au Kuch Kuch Chaturā, i-Dhar Tumhār Yah Thā, in, Āhe Chit Man Anat Avā, i.” At last he had his way, put on the Jogi’s garb, and moved out on the pretence of hunting. A Gorakhpantī had come and reference had been made to Kanchanpur, “Jap Thap Kar Bāhar Āwā-Ayes Pārath Ek Pāwā; Puchas Kaun Des Seon Āyah Ko Gorakh Ko Chail-Prukh Nāth Kar Āh Hamāryo Gorakh Parseon Khail”—The elusive prince left his followers astounded : 1 “Log Kunwar Ke Sāth Jo Aha, i-Kahinh, Kunwar Sāwaj Sang Raha, i 1; 2. Puchat Chalahu Hamanh Tinh Jān, heen—Kunware Bilanb Lag Dinh Kān, hee; 3. Dundhat Āye Turi Pai Pāwā-Kahinh Kunwar Bāghan Tai Khāwā; 4. Bāgh Singh Jo Khāyo Hoyai-Chinh Na Jayai Pāya Ko, ya i-Dundhat Jenh Das Phirke Āyai-Lāk Tanwayai Kunwar Na Pāyai; 6. Chhorwat Chalai Sabi Ghar Kon, Kahinh Kāh Ki Laib-Deo Rai Jo Puchhai Ham Kon Kaun Uttar Ham Daib.” As regards the reaction of Rupman, “Jag Pānin Bin Kanwal Sukhā, ai-Suntanh Rupman Ga, i Kumbhla, ai; Rupman Sun Tusar Jan Māri-Jas Parain Hainwant Rut Jāri.”

“Khand Rupman” is followed by “Khand Gadariyā” wherein we find a shepherd posing himself as the host and devotee of the princely mendicant “Āgain Āyai Jo Dekhai Kāha-Aikan Garariya Hai Charwāhā; Phir Jo Gadariya Daikhis Phir

Ke Manus Koyee Aik Āo,o-Daur, Āgain Ke Ketayee Pāhun Kah Re Bulā,o; Kahis Āj Tumna Pāhun Morain-Bhakat Dai,un Pā, on Lā,gun Torain." The Shepherd's offer to become his guide and show the way to attain his goal was very gratifying to the prince. "Jo Panth Joha,hu Dehun Dekhā, ai-Aguā Deb-Tahān Laija, ai; Panthak Nā,nun Kunwar Jo Sunān-Bhā Anand Manmah Das Gunān; Chalā Lai,wā, ai Sāth Apnain, Āgain Bhā Wah Jā,yai-Jai Biswās Karay Kanh Tākar, Bātanh laitīs lā, ai." But he turned out to be a cheat, a man devouring demon, and carrion-eater. Fortunately when that "Rākas Bhulā" Wahi Gadariya Dutā" was down with his heavy devilish meal "Ghā,ai Aghā, ai Pait Bhar Dakarai-Phin Sowai etc.", "the princely wanderer ran away for his life, and though followed, he escaped from his clutches after having wounded and blinded him, by throwing dust into his eyes.

The prince once in a fine cold night saw from a hiding place 4 beautiful pigeons which rolled down and became transformed into charming women "Chār Parewā Apurb Ā, ai" ; "Chahun lot Kai Bhes Phirāwāi-Rup Istri Dharanh Suhāwā": and by another magical spell 4 dancing peacocks were brought forward "Mantra Bol Hunkār Bul,yai—Chār Mor Nānchat Bhal Ā,yai". The prince passed a frightful night, apprehending all this as the work of the blinded shepherd, and running for his life next day sat down for rest from the blazing sun under a tree.

"We now come to "Khand Mrigāvat" of which the chief feature is the account given by the fleeting damsel of her romance with the prince. She was asked by her attendants, on oath, under the cool shade of a tree, as to whom did she wish to take her clothes from, and she replied that while bathing they left her and then she saw the Kunwar whom she had drawn after by assuming the guise of a deer "Āwat Ehyon Kunwar Ek Dekhā-Jiw wah lāg Chitr chit Rekhā; Mirag Jehiyā Dhar Dekhai lāgion-Wah Dikh,āi Āgain Howai Bhāgion; Wain Manh Dekh Gyo Gambhārā—Dharai Na Dyon Biyog Sanchārā." She confessed to her being in love with him. "Jiw Na

Rahai lubhudhi Hun Bha,ai” Then she told them about the quest of the coveted one from the temple, about the bath, and the seizure of her clothes. Next she referred to the call to the Kunwar from his father which gave her an opportunity to recover her hidden clothes by putting the nurse off her guard. She had, however, sent a message to the prince through the nurse that if he could face and overcome the difficulties on the way and reach her place, Kanchanpur, he might get her.

Shortly after this Mrigāvat’s father, Rup Murār, died:—Rup Murār Bhayai Paryāsā-Kait Payān Gayai Kabilāsā”, and as he had no male issue, Mrigāvat was placed on the throne as the queen. “Poot Nānah Jonh Rāj Abhārai-Kah Kāh Kanh Tilak Sanwārai; Mahanti log Minati As Āwā,—Mrigavat Kanh Rāj Baithāwā.” She being a religious minded lady, held a grand feast to which all, including Jogis, Jatis, Jangamās, Sannayasis etc. were also welcomed. The princely mendicant was one of them. He had got an inkling from the whisprings of a pair of birds and followed them in their flight.

We now come to another ‘khand’ containing an account of the arrival of the prince at Kanchanpur and meeting¹⁵ his friends. The prince playing on his “Kingri” attracted every body and he was called by the queen of the place. “Kingri¹⁶ Lehis Biyog Bajāwā-Sabhin Sunān Daikhai Wah Āwā; Nagari¹⁷ Sabi Biyog Santā, e-Ghar Ghar Ehi Bāt Chalā,e; Jogi Aik Katanh Hut Āwā-Birah Biyog Santāp Bajāwāh; Yahu Bāt Mrigāvat Suni-Aiso Aik Āo, Bahu Guni; Aggyā Bhā,ai Bulāwah Tā,hai Pucha, ūn Kaun Des Kā Āhai.” The prince who was asked to come nearer could not remain hidden in the garb of the mendicant—

15. Shri Parshuram Chaturvedi in his book ‘Sufi Kavya Sangrah’ borrowed what he calls ‘Mrigavati Darbar’ and ‘Rajkumar-Mrigavati Milan’ from the 25th stanzas found in seven folios of the Kaithi ms. of Kalabhawan, Benaras. These stanzas in Delhi ms. range from 204 to 228 on ff. 44a-49a. I was fortunate to see the typed copies of the Kalābhavan ms. through the courtesy of my friend Shri Uday Shankarji. Not only arrangements but the texts also differ in various places.

16. This is line 4 of stanza 206 (Delhi) and 146 (Benaras)

17. These have been taken from the succeeding chaupāi. There are some minor variations the comparative value whereof can be estimated by Hindi scholars.

“Phin Mrigavat Niyar Bulāwā-Punchis Kaun Des Sonon Āwā; Āpan Bāt Kahas Dehun Mohai-Jogi Rup Na Dekha, ūn Tohai” The prince replied that he had arrived in disguise in that place in search of one who had stolen his heart “Kahis Jiw Ham Kāna Churāwā-Tah Dhundhai Kinh Ham Bhais Phirāwā; Khoj Karat Hum Āyon Dhundhat, Sor Jor Ath Kānun—Au Bahutanh Kai Churā,yis Pā,yis Lai-own Tehnak Hun Na nun.” Mrigavat said to her attendants:—“Kahis Jog Yah Janam Na Ho,ai—Rakunwar Yah Āhe So,ai; Muskurā-i Sakhin Son Kahā—Dekh Yahi Kunwar Wah Āha. Hun Jo Kahat Tumna Son Din Bātā-Yahi Kunwar Hamrain Mad Māntā; Ain, hin cheer Ham lehun Āhā-Ham Lag-tain Aganit Dukh Sahā”. She now beautified and adorned her person and welcomed him to his bed saying that she had not offered her devotion before but was now at his disposal. “Rāni Dekh Kunwar kā Āyee-Utar Saij Seon Thāde Bhāyee; Beg chāri chal Kahis johāro—Āwahu Sāmin karah Āhāo; Tehiya Bhukut Na Dinahun Tohai-Saij Paith Paras Ab Morai; Rājpat Jehwān lahu Sāmin, Au Hun Dāsi Tumhār-Chalahu Saij yah Suna Baithah, Tun Re Prukhn Hun Nār; Do,u Saij Par Baithai Jā,ai—Mrigāvat Phin Bāt Chālā,ai”. Rajkunwar also recounted the dangers and adventures he had to undergo during the course of his search for her and told her about the lady whom he had rescued from the demon, and his marriage with her, and also about the man-eating “Charwāhā” who misled him, pretending to be his host and guide. Then they began to live as husband and wife :—Ān Ho,ye Sab Des Manjhāri—“Tumna Rāja Hun Nār Tumhāri.”

The unexpected length of the paper necessitates, skipping over much that is yet to be noticed in about half of the book. Suffice it to say that Ganpat Deo sent his “Bābhan Purohit” with a message and a ‘Doli’ for bringing his wife to his son, Raj-kunwar, along with a “Tāndā” or carvan of travelling merchants or the Banjārās, and they happened to meet the love-afflicted Rupman. This occasioned the out-pourings of her heart in the form of the Bārāhmāsa¹⁸ When they reached Kanchanpur,

18. I already considered the 10 stanzas found on the margin of the ms.

they delivered the message, and told the prince of the pangs of separation of his other wedded wife. They said 'Nagar Sidhiyān Utroyon Ā o—Mānus Aik Le Gayo Bula,o", and described Rupman as "Birah Biyog Santāp Bakhāni-Pān Phul Kuch Sadh Na Mani; Bāt Kahan To uttar Na Dai,i—Khinn Mar Khinn Mar Mar Sānsen Lai,i" etc. Mrigavat immediately agreed to accompany her husband to her father-in-law's house and suggested that the eldest son, Rāi Bhān, should be left as the ruler of the place — "Rāi Bhān Kinh Dijiyai Rājo-Bilamb Na La, ai Kijiai Ājo." The prince had passed some four happy years at Kanchanpur with Mrigavat who bore him two sons "Chār Baras Kanchanpur Bhayai—Raj-Kunwar Kinh Sukh Manh Kiyai; Dui Poot—Mrigavat Jā,ai—Rai Bhān Kah Rāni Bulāyai; Karan Rāi chotā Kar Nā,nun—Rai Bhān Seon Dusrain thā,nun . "Rai Bhān Kinh Dinhun Tika—Ān Bhayai Jas Rām Kalikā". As for the younger son Karan Rai, he was a child and was to accompany his parents to Chandragarh. The caravan started with Mrigavat in "Chandol" (sedan chair with 2 poles) and Karan Rāi in the lap of his nurses. They met the shepherd on the way. "Jā,e Gadariyā Dekhai Kāhā-Āndhar Bhayo Baithā Wah Ahā." Traversing a distance of 30 kos they came to Sidhiya, the place of Rupan also "Kos Tis Ek Tahān Seo in Nagar Sidhya Āh—Kunwar Dolinh Pathā, yai Agman Ton Rupmam Thān jāh" just when she was taking omen from the flight of the crow: "Tatkhan Rupman Kāg Udāwai-Udh Kāg Jo Sā in Ā,way; Dudh Bhāt Tehi Dehun Bhojan.....Āj Sā,in. Jo Āway Pahun-chain Udh Jāh. Tumh. Akās" After some hesitation Mrigavat was prevailed upon to allow the king to take the co-wife also "Inhān Bāt Yah Kunwar Jo Kahay-Mrigāvat Seon Jo Kuch Ahay; Kahas Biyāh Na Chāde Jāy,ai—Au Jo Kah Kuch Saukain Parā-ai; "Mrigāvatain Bojh Man Dekhā, Ab Na chalay Kuch Mor—Kahis Soyee Sar opar Morain, Joru chit-Hai Tor"

of, Chandāban in my paper published in Current studies of Patna College. As regards the remaining two stanzas about two other months not available there, and supplied by Delhi ms., they could be of no help in reconstructing the story which has been the chief purpose of this paper.

Raja Ganapat accorded right royal reception to his son who introduced his wife and said that Rupman was the daughter of Raja Deo Rai who had given his whole Raj to him. One day when the prince was out on his hunting excursion, his sister had a talk with Rupman which caused the rivalry of the co-wives to flare up with such intensity that both of them after exchange of hot words began to practise 'Khatwāt' (confinement to bed) and the parents as also the prince had very hard time of it. During the course of a hunt of a ferocious lion, the prince fell from his elephant which had turned mad and died. His son, Karan Bai, was about to kill himself with a dagger when people snatched the weapon away from his hand. Mrigavat and Rupman both became "Sati". The twenty years rule of the lady ended and Karan Rai was enthroned. "Mrigavat Au Rupman Laike Jārin Kunwar Kai Sāth—Bhasam Bhayeen Sab Jar Kai Chinh Rahā Nai Na Māth: "Mahtai Neki Johi Badh Bhāri—Tinh Āpan Manh Kia Bichāri; Jo Kuch Honi Kinh so Bhainta-Bidh Kā likhā Jā yai Na Meetiā; So Re Karah Jenh Rāj Rahā,yai—Hamren Royaitan Jo Bajhiā,yai; wai Kinh Jenh Triyā Ki Rājo-Hampar Bis Baras kar Rājo; Karanh Rāi Kinh Ghar Le Āyai—Ān Singhāsan Par Baithā,ai". The game of death was played by the one Eternal. The grief of the populace of Chandargarh was so great that about half of them, particularly the attendants of the deceased, and all except the Brahmins and the gold-smiths, practised self destruction:—"Chut Bidh Ko,ū Na Rah Akailā-Kartā Kair Jarat Eh Khaila, 2. Bekar Sar,raj Bāri Jarai—Au Nāwanahin Sar Upar Parai; 3. Jarai Bahut Et Pān Khilāwat Autai Jarai Jo Pāni Piā,wat; 4; Jarai Jo Kāpar Daint Sanwāri—Dhobi Jarai Chād Bar Nāri; 5. Autai Jarai Karat Jiu Nārā—Bānbhan Be Na Jarai Sunārā, 6. Ādhā Nagar Adhik Kuch Nikhthā, Jarai Bha,ai Manaswān.—Bin Je Nagari Kai Jas Kasthā, Wah Lag Sab Ke Prān.

In the last stanza¹⁹ but one the poet tells us of the Sambat

19. Pandit Chaturvedi, Shri Uday Shankerji and others have also given this from Chaukhambhā and Bikanir mss. in Kaithi script. But they give a different

date of composition, and the genesis of the contents of his poem. He says that the story was originally in Hindu,ⁱ (current among the Indians) but it was subsequently versified and sung by the poet in his own systematic way, supported by arguments, in the first half of Bhādon Singh Rās of 1560. Then he explained the meaning in detail and dealt with Jog, Sringār and Bir sentiments etc. "Pahilain Hindu,ⁱ Kathā Āhai-Phin Re Gāna Tarkai (Turki ?) Le Gahai; 2. Phin Ham Khol Arth Sab Kahā—Jog Singār Bir Ras Ahā; 3. Jehiya Pandrahi Hut Sāthi-Tehiyā Yah Chaupānia Gānthi; 4. Kahat Bhākhā Jo Āhanh Mānjhā—Pandit Bin Bujhat Ho Sānchā; 5. Pahila Pākh Bhadnon Janu Āhai—Singh Rās Singhanh Tarehai; 6. Bahut Arth Hunh Eh Manh Ko,ⁱ, jo Sudh Seon Ko,^ū Bujh-Kahiyon Jahān Lag Pāriyon Jo Kuch Wahi Ha, yeen Be Sujh.'

The concluding stanza²⁰ is also well worth quoting in full, "Wahi Aik Jablag Tan Sānsā-o Bin Kahat Na Bhayain Wah Āsa; 2. Nit Kar Āh Rah Nit Ohai-Nit Parsaneon Howo Wah Mohai; 3. Ahnis Chād Sab Kājā-Ant Rah Okar Rājā; 4. Pratham Ant Kāj Jeh Saiteen—Sanwari Jeeh Chād Bidh Chaiteen; 5. Monk (Aik) Aur Bidh Kaitain-Bidh Okar As wah Laitain; 6 Āhai Jo Re Ais Wah Karain, So, Re Do,^ū Jag Pā,o—Jag Do,non Kā Āhanh Jag Manh Aur Bahut Hunh Sā,o". So long as there is a breath left in the body, there is no hope for me if I do not say what. He commands me to say. I must always worship Him who is always so compassionate and enchants me. He has been and will remain Ever-lasting. It is He who can bestow-lasting peace if you, having given up all other worldly desires and occupations of days and nights, make him reign supreme in your heart. It is He through whom you get your first and

reading of the first two lines and I may be permitted to venture the suggestion that they have missed the mark here as elsewhere. As they misread clear 'Suharwardi as "Sarwar Do Duhun" so they accepted "Pahli Hiyai Dui Kathā aho-yog Singār Birdh Ras Kaho" If the reading 'Turki' be correct, the question of the script of the original mss. will also be solved.

20. Neither the Chaukambha nor the Bikanir mss. contains the concluding stanza. I have been told by my learned colleagues of Patna University (Shree Jagannath Rai Sharma, Shri Jaidev Mishra, Shri Anand Mishra and Shri Dineshwar Sinha etc. to whom I am so much indebted for the help that they have occasionally rendered to me, that the metres of this stanza are at places somewhat faulty.

last purpose served. And on attaining Him you can throw away the means by which you got him. Salvation is one where as the means are many. That means is right which can take you to Him. All the world knows that the pairs (Mohksha Bidhi) are so inextricably bound with Him. The world is in them and they are in the world.

The extracts quoted above will enable the readers to realise the need of reconstructing the story as told by the Poet, and also appraising the value, authenticity, and perhaps the contemporaneity²¹ of the Delhi mss. as compared with those found in Kaithi Script. Neither space nor time permit considerations of matters of cultural interest which can be gleaned from this 'Prem Kathā' of the 15th 16th century Muslim poet. Qutban has mentioned his poetical penname in more than 6 places,²² but we know little or nothing from them about the philosophic poet and moralist as he was. Some of his lines read as maxim²³ e.g. "Jo Kuch Honi Kinh So baintā-Bidh Ka Likha Jāyai Na Mainta." The medieval Muslim poet gives unmistakable evidence of

21. Vide ante for the basis of the surmise. Though there is no sure proof of the mss. being as old as the author, it is practically complete and self-sufficient, leaving out nothing of the essential features of a classical Hindi Prem-Kathā, and the corrections, substitutions, and addition, made in the margin, forming the textual portion of the Kaithi mss., have got their own significance. As for the variation between the different mss, the more polished and Sanskritized expressions such as "Laghu Drigh" for "Chota Barā and the additional explanatory and elucidatory stanzas which may give a better and more continuous reading betray a different hand. Poor Qutban was reciting the old Indian folk song for the common people, the meaning whereof would be quite clear to his readers or hearers without the help of a Pandit. He himself says:—Kahat Bhākhā Jo Ahanh Mānjhā—Pandit Binu Baghat Ho Sānchā."

22. One has been already given. Others are as follows:—"Kutban Sāt Samund Dadah, Aur Salih Ko Jān-Dhār Sewāti Man Basay, Chātak Chit Na Dān" (109); "Kutban Preetam Agam Bha, yeen, Tih wai Basanh Na chit—Ham Dār Jim Hiayeen, Ghar Kinh Nit—" (115); "Kutban Kāngura Paim Kā unchā At Re Utang—Sis Na Dijiayi pāo Tar Kar Na Pahunchai khank" (192); "Kutban Taun To Ganbhira, At Raske Raswant—" "Subhar Nain Na Sukhain, Jal Bhar Bhar Awant—" (274) "Kutban Jeewan Pi Milan, Kathan Tajdan Biyog—Ham chit Gyān Hi, Aur Kaho Kuch log" (308)

23. "Tablag Mag Amag Ganajiyai—Jablag Moh Maya Man Kijiyai" (308) "Jo Jas Kare So Taise Pāwe, Birhā Birhan Bāt—Jas Biswas Kahia Manse Kare Tastai Howe Nirjāt" (175); "Jo Sirja Wai kinh Āwā—So Kanh Jonā Kāt Santāwā" (413); "Kāhinh Harakh Rasā Paim Na Howai; jew jo Dai Pāi, Leosoyai—Muwai Bāchā Ko, i Nā Kahi, yai So Jo Tha Jivan Jo Kahi, yai—" "Paim Atank unch ka Ahā—Bā, ruSoyai Jo Bin Dukh chāhā Paim Khaile Jo Chāhe Khaile—Sar Seon Khaile Jew Par Hailā" (192)

his acquaintance with Hindu religion, scriptures, mythology,²⁴ traditions, manners and customs, and he seems to be thoroughly saturated with essentially Indian culture. But he was a good, and perhaps a well read Muslim, for in the stanzas devoted to God and the Prophet the words of the Qurān and the Hadis are found to be very aptly used and interpreted. Like others he strictly follows the Indian poetic traditions and avoids non-Indian words and expressions, and even the fairly large number of sweet scented flowers mentioned by him, such as Kusum, Mālti, Bailā, Chamaili, Nāgesar, Bholsari, Kānud (Kund), Newāri, Seoti, Champā, Katakī Gulāi, Karna, Son Jarad, Juhi, Dauna Maruā etc. are all Indian. But this exclusively Indian spirit had to break down when the horses had to be mentioned and described. Samund, Kumait, Tāji, Tukhār etc. had to be brought in with Hans, Gayāh, Sānwar Karan, Sirjā Karar, Turang, Panch Kalyān, Palāni, Kandwani²⁵ etc. Qutban's Bārahmāsā is perhaps, the first standard piece traceable in Hindī, though Mautānā Daud's Chandāban²⁶ also shows its traces, and we get also from him the idea of the grief stricken long separated wife pouring out her heart before the birds as we find in the case of Rupman and the 'Kāgā'. It is interesting to find our poet referring to "Bharat Pingalā" and mentioning all the important Rāgs and Rāgins which were 36 in number ($6 \times 5 + 6$):—"Bāje Sāj Sabad Sab Thāpai-chawa, o Sapuran Rāg Alāpai; Au Chāthis Bhārjā Aha, een—Aik Rāg Pach Pach kaha, een", as follows:—(a) *Bhairo* and *Madhi Malti*, *Sandhurā*, *Banglā*, *Bairātik*, *Gunki* ? (b) *Kausik* and *Gauri*, *Deokali*, *Todi*, *khanbhāvati*, *kun kumbh*. (c) *Hindol* and *Desākh*, *Bairāri*", *Nant*, *Sahjagā* ?, *Avadi* (d) *Deepakad* *Kanod*, *Pat Manjari*, *Panch Baranganā*, *Kera*, i ? (e) *Megh* and *Malsari*, *Sārangi*, *Barāri*, *Dhanāsari*, *Kāndhari*, (f) *Sri Rāg* and

24. References to Janmejya, son of Raja Parikshit, Sudāmā, Bikram, Bhoj, Bhairon Nand in stanza 264.

25. "Sirja Samunda, Siyak, Sailiyā, Sur Surangā—Mushki, Panch Kalyan Kumaitā, Kehari. Rangā (Susan, with thanks to Udayshankerji)

26. The Stray pages of Chandāban have stanzas on 'Aghan' Chait, and Pus and the Tark' indicates that the month of 'Kartik' was to follow'.

Hem Kali, Ma'tār, Gujri, Bhuyun (Bhim), Bhilāsi, khatto?
Lastly the poet's descriptive power also attracts one's notice.
e.g. "Rowat Pitat Bhakarat Chalai-Bāndhan Kamar Sis Au
Kholai." As for the literary value of the work, only those
who are competent for the task may say something about it.

KĀLIDĀSA ON "LIPI" AND ADHYAYANA"

By

S. V. Sohoni

A great depth of meaning was conveyed in this stanza—

सवृत्तचूलचलकाकपक्षकैरमात्यपुत्रैः सवयोभिरन्वितः।

लिपेर्यथावद्ग्रहणेन वाङ्मयं नदीमुखेनैव समुद्रमाविशत्॥

R. V. [III] 28

Arthur Ryder translated these lines as follows—

"The baby hair must needs be clipped; yet he
Retained two dangling locks, his cheeks to fret;
And down the river of the alphabet

He swam, with other boys, to learning's sea."

One may imagine a row of young children, all of equal age, studying their alphabet, one of them with a "śikhā" and others having tufts of hair in kākā-pakṣa style, which moved when they moved their heads, while sitting down to learn by rote. It was a group of such children whose sight suggested to Kālidāsa an illustration of a Devanāgarī consonant declined in its 12 forms with vowels, as is being done in this country, ever since letters of Devanāgarī alphabet were evolved. As is well known, children, in ancient India and quite commonly even now, have to read aloud a letter so that both the form of its writing and its sound are associated in their mind. For letters and their appropriate sounds both must necessarily be learnt first, before embarking on any further literary adventure.

Raghu, leading his companions, is mentioned first and described as वृत्तचूलः (with a single lock on crown of head) in stating this Kālidāsa closely followed Kauṭilya who had observed, "वृत्तचूलकर्म लिपिं संहयानं चोपयुज्जीत ।" अर्थशास्त्र ११२। When a consonant is declined in its 12 forms, there are mātrās on top and velās at its foot, in most cases. That was why his companions' kākā-pakṣa, or dangling locks, were referred to as moving or

KĀLIDĀSA ON 'LIPI' AND 'ADHYAYANA'

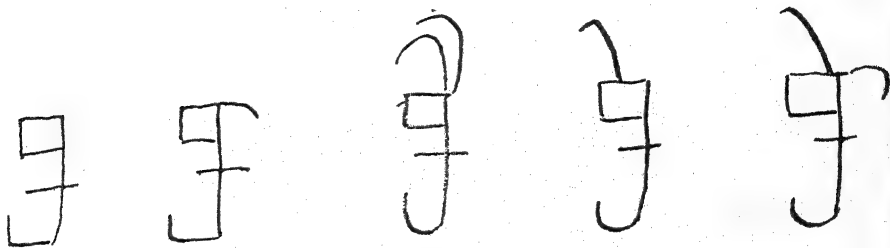
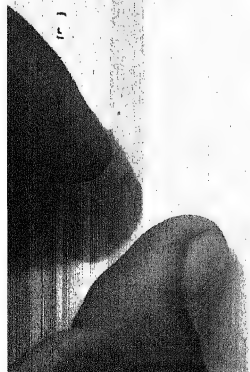


Fig. I.



Fig. II.



“cala”. It is clear why these children had to be of equal age, सवयोभिः; or why अन्वितः was deliberately employed—it means, “coming in steady sequence,” (अनु + इतः).

This analysis would be better appreciated and Kālidāsa’s suggestive words found to lead to a most exquisite picture, if the script prevalent in his time were taken into account. viz. the box headed Brahmi of Vidarbha. One may then see for oneself how exact was this parallel (vide Fig. I). An outline of a scene in Barhut sculptures showing young pupils learning by rote, would be found in Fig. II. Thus this verse is an epigraphist’s delight. Kālidāsa’s robust humour is seen leaping out, time and again. He has sketched here a picture no less interesting than that in A. Conan Doyle’s story of the Red Headed League, where an alphabet was constructed by using simple outlines of human figures, in different poses.

A row of letters can be read silently, but such reading would not quite help; and learning by rote is a process where sound is important. In fact, correct pronunciation was a principal object to be diligently pursued. Like many a great genius, Kālidāsa was attracted by associations between a letter and its sound and between sound and its meaning. In this context a pun on ‘वाङ्मय’ is obvious—a study of alphabet involved not only reading letters, but reading them aloud. Students of Pāṇini are aware that examinees were ranked according to the number of mistakes in their pronunciation during an oral test. Pātañjali has mentioned reading aloud and reading softly { ii. 1,2 (7) }. The term ‘adhyayana’ as used by Pāṇini has been explained by a commentator as to mean “in the sense of the repetition by the pupil of the syllables in the order in which they issue from the lips of the teacher”—

गुरुमुखा दक्ष रानु पूर्वाग्रहणम् अध्ययनम्, शब्दार्थज्ञानं वेदनम्—बाल मनोरमा ।

(quoted by R. K. Mookherji in ancient Indian Education page 239). The word ‘ग्रहण’ was used by Kālidāsa in its technical sense of taking over from ‘gurumukha’—यथावत् i.e. as was required, each time correctly. That is how the first part of the second line is completely explained—लिपेर्येवैवद् ग्रहणेन

वाङ्मयम् । The different forms of a letter were pronounced in prescribed sequence to help memory, following the sounds uttered by a teacher.

This helps understanding another stanza of Kālidāsa in which he has again discussed “adhyayana” or learning by rote—

रामादेशादनुगता सेना तस्यार्थं सिद्धये ।

पञ्चादध्ययनार्थस्य घातोरधिरिवाभवत् ॥ R. V. [XV] 9

In a preceding stanza he had specifically referred to what was a clear meaning of ‘Śatrughna’—

आदिदेशाथ शत्रुघ्नं तेषां क्षेमाय राघवः ।

करिष्यन्निव नामास्य यथार्थमरि निग्रहम् ॥ R. V. [XV] 6

He had this meaning strictly in view; and wanted to suggest that while Śatrughna himself going out involved movement of “a killer of enemies” and thus no reinforcement was really necessary, an army following him as a help, at the command of Rama (therefore of a gurujana or an elder), was like learning by rote connoted by verb इ, being followed by ‘adhi’ only as a help. It is clear that ‘रामादेश’ has been inserted to correspond to ‘gurumukha’. The simile is perfect.

How a study of an alphabet through repetition in this manner, as initial step in education, leads ultimately to fathom depths of meanings of words in large literary undertakings, has been also indicated and was a main attraction of this verse नदीमुखेनेव समुद्रमाविशत् । Later, Kālidāsa has compared acquisition of four vidyās to crossing the four seas—

धियः समग्रैः स गुणै रुदारथीः क्रमाच्चतस्रश्चतुरण्वोपमाः ।

ततार विद्याः पवनाति पातिभिर्दिशो हरिर्द्भिर्हरितामिवेश्वरः ॥

R.V. (III) 30

It was another great student of words their meanings and sounds, viz. Bānabhaṭṭa, who wrote, सरस्वती तीरे स्फुटं व्यराजन्त राजयो वर्णानाम् which ‘nadi’ or river was involved in नदीमुखेन was clarified with a pun on “सरस्वती”, which means, either on the bank of the Saraswatī (river) or on the edge, i.e. initial step of learning. He thus furnished a charming foot note, as it were, to this beautiful stanza of Kālidāsa.

MUDRĀ OF RĀKSHASA IN VISHĀKHADATTA'S MUDRĀRĀKSHASAM.



Fig. I



Fig. II



(a)

Fig. III



(b)

THE MUDRĀ OF 'RĀKṢASA' IN VISĀKHADATTA'S MUDRĀRĀKṢASAM

By
S. V. Sohoni

I

The title 'Mudrārākṣasam' is explained as *मुद्रया संगृहीतो राक्षसः* i.e. "where Rākṣasa was won over through a signet ring"—his signet ring. The plot of this Sanskrit drama, unique in several respects, turns mainly upon how Cāṇakya makes use of a signet ring of 'Rākṣasa' obtained by one of his spies through pure accident. Time and again, Cāṇakya emphasised his conviction that well directed effort¹ gave success; and that only fools blamed their fate. In other words, he subscribed to a positive and scientific outlook. A rationale of a signet ring is best furnished in numismatic terms. Accordingly, certain details given in this drama about 'Rākṣasa's' signet ring, deserve analysis.

When ordered² by Cāṇakya, his spy gave, in his personal report, a detailed account³ of how he happened to get that signet ring. It had slipped from a lady's hand—it was made for a man's wear (viz. of Rākṣasa) and was obviously loose on a lady's finger (viz. of his wife). It fell out on the floor outside a threshold, where that spy (disguised as a professional exhibitor of religious scrolls) had spread over his pictures. He employed a very

1. Cf. "अर्थस्य मूलमुत्थानं किं करिष्यन्ति तारकाः ।" कौ० अ०
and "देवमविद्वांसः प्रमाणयन्ति ।" मु० रा० III

2. "भद्र, अङ्गुली मुद्रागमं विस्तरेण श्रोतुमिच्छामि ।" in Act I which is called "Acquisition of the Ring."

3. "तस्याः कुमार संरोध संप्रम प्रचलिताङ्गुलेः करात् पुरुषाङ्गुलि परिणाह प्रमाण घटितेयमङ्गुलि मुद्रिका देहलीबन्धे पतिता तथा नवबुद्धा मम चरणपादव समागत्य प्रणामविभूता कुल वधूरिव निश्चला संवृता । मयाप्यमात्य राक्षसस्य नामाङ्कितेत्यायस्य पादमूलं प्रापिता । तदेवोऽस्याआगमः ।" (pp. 10)

striking simile for describing how that signet ring came to a stop near him—he said that it looked like a well behaved young lady doing a salutation. I give along side a copy of a representation of such a lady—necessarily slender—in the Amarāwati sculpture and also in the Ajantā frescoes (Figures I and II). The ring, therefore, could be assumed to have had a circular shape with a flat piece attached to it on one side. That flat piece could be used as a stamp—which is not at all a rare arrangement. While dropping down, the signet ring must have come to a halt when it rested on its flat portion. The spy did not tell Cāṇakya that he read the name 'Rākṣasa' on the signet ring *while* it was rolling. He must have read it on picking it up and after examining it. These are some reasonable inferences about the size and the shape of the signet ring; and figure III is based on them.

Secondly, about the 'name Rākṣasa' engraved upon it. It is clear that in a seal or a signet ring, the mould would read letters backwards¹ in order to give, in the stamp, the correct sequence of letters. Thus the first letter in such a seal or ring, read from left to right, would be the last letter in the word e.g. for Rākṣasa स and not रा. (I am assuming that क्ष was pronounced as ख, which would perhaps be readily conceded).

That this signet ring contained the name 'Rākṣasa' and perhaps not so much any detail of his official designation seems to have been emphasised whenever this ring is discussed among the *dramatis personae*. The word "नाम" is used; and that word becomes significant. For present purposes, however, it is enough to note that the letters must necessarily have been put in their reverse order on the signet ring—and whether these were the only letters on that signet ring is immaterial, for reasons which are stated later.

1. This is the normal way of using a seal.

2. e.g. the spy reports "मयाप्यमात्य राक्षसस्य नामाङ्कितेत्ययस्य पादसूलं प्रापिता ।" There is also a stage direction about Cāṇakya, "मुद्रामवलोक्य गृहीत्वा राक्षसस्य नामं वाचयति ।" (Act I)

In Act II Sakatadāsa tells Rākṣasa himself "अमात्य भवन्नामाङ्कितये मुद्रा ।"

II

I venture to suggest that Viśākhadatta was hinting very broadly at some very important facts in *Gupta* history concerning Candragupta's II succession viz. that his predecessor had been loyally served by a great minister; acute tension and war between that predecessor and Candragupta; and that minister being persuaded, ultimately, to serve Candragupta.

This important sequence has been stated in unmistakable terms by an Arab historian writing in 1026¹ A. D. He had

6. Elliot Vol I (pp. 110-112).

"History of Rawwal and Barkamaris—When Rasal died his eldest son Rawwal assumed the sovereignty. It happened that a certain king had a daughter of great intelligence. Wise and learned men had declared that the man who should marry this girl should become king of four climes. All the kings and princes of the Hindus sought her, but no one pleased her except Barkamaris, who was very handsome. When Barkamaris brought her home his brother said, as she pleased you so does she please me. Then he took the girl with her handmaids. Barkamaris said to himself "The damsel chose me for my wisdom and there is nothing better than wisdom." So he gave himself up to study, and associated with learned and the Brahmanas, till he reached such perfection that he had no equal.

When the rebel who was expelled by their father (Rasal) heard the story of the damsel, he said "Can they who do such things occupy such a position?" So he led an army and put Rawwal to flight. Rawwal with his brothers and nobles all went to the top of a mountain where a strong fortress had been built. Then they set guards on the summit and felt secure. But the enemy got possession of the mountain by stratagem, and besieged the fort, and was near upon taking it. Rawwal then sent to sue for peace, and his enemy said—"Send me the girl, and let every one of your chiefs send a girl. I will give these girls to my officers, —then I will withdraw." Rawwal was dejected, but he had a wazir, blind of both eyes, named Safar, of whom he enquired what was to be done. He advised him to give up the women and save his life. He might then take measures against his enemy, but if he lost his life what would be the good of children and wife, and riches. They resolved upon this course, but just at this juncture, Barkamaris came in, and after making his salutation, said "I and the king are sons of the same father; if he will acquaint me with his opinion, it may be that I may be able to suggest something, —do not take my youth into consideration." So they informed him of the facts. He then said, "It seems proper that I should take my life for the king; let an order be given for me to be dressed like a woman, and let all the officers dress their sons in like manner as damsels, and let us conceal a knife in our hair, and carry a trumpet also concealed; then send us each to the king. When we are brought before the king they will tell him that I am the damsel, he will keep me for himself and give the others to his officers. When the king retires with me I will rip up his belly with the knife and sound the trumpet. When the other youths hear this they will know that I have done my work, they must also do theirs. All the officers of the army thus be slain. You must be prepared, and when you hear the trumpet, you must sally forth with your soldiers and we will exterminate the foe." Rawwal was delighted and did as was proposed. It succeeded, not one of the enemy's horsemen escaped, all were slain and cast down from the mountain. Rawwal's power increased.

admittedly drawn upon earlier Sanskrit sources. A summary of his narration published, decades ago, in a French research journal, as extracted in Eliot's "History of India As Told By Her Own Historians"; and was referred to frequently in connexion with a now famous discussion regarding Rāmagupta as immediate predecessor and elder brother of Candragupta Sahasānka.¹

The common elements between (a) Viśākhadatta's story in the *Mudrārākṣasam* and *Devi Candraguptam* and (b) the Arab account, are far too obvious to require any detailed statement.

(The Wazir excites the king's suspicions against Barkamaris, who feigns madness).

One day in the hot season, Barkamaris was wandering barefoot about the city, and came to the gate of the king's palace. Meeting no hinderance he entered, and found his brother and the damsel sitting on a throne sucking a sugar cane. When Rawwal saw him he observed that there could be no porters at the gate, otherwise the poor mendicant would never have got in. Taking pity on him, he gave him a bit of sugar cane. The mendicant took it, and picked up a piece of the shell of the cane to scrape and clean it with. When the king saw that he wanted to clean the cane, he told the damsel to give him a knife. She rose and gave the knife to Barkamaris, who cleaned the sugar cane with it, and carefully watched until the king was off his guard. Then he sprang up upon him, and plunging the knife into his navel, ripped him up. After that he seized his feet and dragged him from the throne. He next called the wazir and the people and seated himself on the throne amid the plaudits of the people. He burnt the body of the king, took aback the damsel and married her, and restored order.

Then he called the wazir and said "I know that it was you who counselled my brother in his dealings with me, but this was no fault nor as it blameable. It was God's will that I should be king, so continue to govern the kingdom as you did for my brother." Safar replied, "You have spoken the truth, all that I did was for the good and advantage of your brother, not out of enmity to you. But I have resolved upon burning myself, and cannot do as you desire. I was with your brother in life, and I will be with him in death." Barkamaris told him that he wanted him to write a book on the duties of kings, on government and justice. Safar consented, and wrote the book, which is called "Adabu-l Muluk," "Instruction of kings." I have transcribed it in this book, for I have written an abstract of it. When it was finished he took it to Barkamaris and read it, and all the nobles admired and praised it. Then he burnt himself. The power of Barkamaris and his kingdom spread, until at length all India submitted to him. Such was Barkamaris. I have related all the facts just as I found them."

i. S. Levi (JA. CCIII, pp. 201 ff); R. Sarasvati (IA. LII, pp. 181 ff); A. S. Altekar (JBORS. XIV, 223 ff; XV, 134 ff); R.D. Banerji (AIG. pp. 26 ff); Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar (Malaviya Comm. Vol. pp. 189 ff); K. P. Jayaswal (JBORS. XVIII, 17 ff); Winternitz (Aiyanger Comm. Vol. pp. 359 ff); Sten Konow (JBORS. XXIII, 444); V. V. Mirashi (IHQ. X, 48; IA. LXII, 201); N. Das Gupta (IC. IV, 216).

In this context, I would add that it is significant that the Commander of Malayaketu's army was Sikharasena (M. R. Act V).

To one aspect, however, particular attention is drawn. How old was Candragupta II when he became king ? I suggest that it would be wrong to assume that there was no long interval between the elimination of Rāmagupta's enemy by Candragupta II and Candragupta's seizure of power from Rāmagupta. The Arab account distinctly refers to a growth in Rāmagupta's power after his Śaka enemy was destroyed. Secondly, if implications of Vākāṭaka chronology were taken into account and Pravarsena II's birth put in c. 390 A. D. as "the second¹ if not the third or fourth child of his parents," it would follow that in 376-7 A. D. Candragupta II was not exactly a child, since his daughter Prabhāwatigupta was married round about 380 A. D. when she must have been at least 10 years old. Rāmagupta apparently reigned longer than is generally believed.

I would venture to suggest that it was Sikhara, a minister, already old in Candragupta's time, who might have served his predecessor. There is on record an inscription mentioning Sikhara, of 436² A. D. recorded in his son's time.

Not that alone. There has been, in the context of Rāmagupta, an identification of Sikhara on independent grounds also.³

III

A numismatic analysis of this signet ring in Viśākhadatta's drama gives surprisingly consistent conclusions viz. that there was a minister Sikhara who had served Candragupta Vikramāditya's predecessor and who had to serve Candragupta Vikramāditya, despite his loyalty to his predecessor.

I have examined elsewhere certain geographical aspects of the Mudrārākṣasam which clearly indicate that Viśākhadatta had intimate acquaintance with Pāṭaliputra and its neighbourhood and that the Son⁴ river was then flowing exactly as it was as indicated by Kālidāsa.

1. A New History of the Indian People Vol. VI (pp. 110)

2. (EI, X, 71-72)

3. Cf. Jayaswal in J. B. O. R. S. Vol. XVIII Pt. I pp. 22, "Safar is the Arabic rendering of Sikhara. The name transcribed as (Siqar) after losing one dot, became (Sifar or Safar)."

4. R. V. VII.96 "प्रत्यग्रहीत्यार्षिण वाहिनीं तं भागीरथीं शोणहोत्रस्यः।"

While discussing these numismatic aspects of Rākṣasa's signet ring, one word may be said about 'Rākṣasa' himself—as a dramatic character hitherto believed to have been invented by a very clever author. It is well known that in the basic historical materials from the Brihat Kathā,¹ there is no reference to any Rākṣasa as a minister of either king Nanda or of Candragupta Maurya. This personality and its name were regarded as Viśākhadatta's own creation.

It was, however, impossible that such an important factor in affairs which obviously recapitulated, through *double entendre* and allusion, a group of historical circumstances, should not hold on to a genuine personality for its foundation. I submit that our study clarifies this point—'Rākṣasa' was indeed a real person whose name could be got at, if basic letters in that word 'Rākṣasa' were read in reverse, with very slight modification.

This explains why, in the Nāndi itself,² Viśākhadatta has put a significant line concerning a name—

"How is that you do not know this name which is so familiar to you," a query which any contemporary or knowledgeable audience could have deeply appreciated. For it referred to Sikhara. In fact, much fun³ has been derived out of this word 'Rākṣasa' itself, particularly, through utterances of Kṣapanaka, who plays, more or less, a buffoon's role in this drama. As long as he had remained the key figure in the opposite camp, Sikhara's enemies could easily have referred to him as 'Rākṣasa', veritable demon, particularly, when his own seal itself showed letters virtually in that order and which sounded so much like that word.

During excavation at Vaishāli, many seals of officers of Gupta

1. बृहत्कथामूलम् मुद्राराक्षसम् (धनिक's वृत्ति on दशरूपकम्)

2. "किं नु नामैतदस्या

नामै वास्यास्तद्वेतत्परिचितमपि ते विस्मृतं कस्य हेतोः" ।

3. e. g. Act V राक्षसस्य पिशाचस्य वा ।" and "तत्र गमिष्यामि यत्र राक्षसस्य पिशाचस्य वा नामापि न श्रूयते ।" and stanza no. 7 particularly, "अन्वर्थतोऽपि ननु राक्षस राक्षसोऽसि" uttered by Malayaketu.

kings have been found; and among them there are some which contain only personal names. But whether Rākṣasa's signet ring had only his name or in addition, his designation or details of official status as well, this conclusion about Sikhara remains unaffected.

Viśākhadatta, apparently, wrote two dramas on Candragupta Vikramāditya viz. the *Mudrārākṣasam* and the *Devi Candraguptam*, both of which seem to have genuine historical background and might well have been works of a contemporary. If a digression were permitted, the names of some other dramatis personae, particularly, the allies of Malayaketu, also probably contained disguised references to historical characters. In Maratha history, there are many documents in which names were obscured to preserve temporary secrecy e.g. only first letters giving the clue to the real name etc. The *Mudrā-rākṣasam* definitely indicates Sasanian interference in Gupta affairs, as separately analysed.

IV

It may be recalled that the ring (which is Kālidāsa's own addition to the *Mahābhārata* plot) in the *Abhijñāna Śākuntalam* of Kālidāsa has been referred to as अङ्गुलीयकम् and नाममुद्रा (vide Anusuyā's remarks in Act IV viz. "स्वनामध्वेयाङ्कितमङ्गुलिकम्" and Vidūśaka's and Duśyanta's remarks in Act VI viz. (pp. 112 of A. S.) Duśyanta says—

“पश्चादिमां मुद्रां तदङ्गुलौ निवेशयता मया प्रत्यभिहिता —

राकैकमत्र दिवसे दिवसे मदीयं ।

नामाक्षरं गणय गच्छति यावदन्तम् ।

This shows how cleverly Kālidāsa utilised his knowledge of administrative processes. Such a signet ring could be made over by an able king only to a most trustworthy person. In fact Vidūśaka asks, “भो, इयं नाममुद्रा केनाद्वातेन तत्र भवत्यो हस्ताभ्यासं प्रापिता”. Even Sānumati had that curiosity. Duśyanta gave his signet ring to Śākuntalā not merely to help her count the number of days the arrival of her escort from the capital—he had

a much more practical object in parting with his signet ring. His intention was to invest the temporary holder of his personal seal with that status, importance and intimacy which, on that person being a lady, could have been consistent with or clearly implied that she was Duśyanta's queen. It was an important device of affirmation—one which he had carried with him even while out on a hunt.

Kālidāsa strictly kept normal experience in view when a man's finger ring was lost by a lady while bowing down and saluting—for it must necessarily have been loose on her finger. Duśyanta explains how Sakuntala lost that signet ring, “शचीतीर्थम् वंद-
भानायाः सख्यास्ते हस्तात् गंगालोतसि परिभ्रष्टम् ॥” In fact, even the *simile* of a girl doing her salutation, used by Viśākhadatta *might* have been suggested by this passage in the Abhijñāna Śākuntalam.

Another graphic account¹ of a signet ring which fell from a royal finger viz. in Baṇa's Harṣacaritam where also, on its resting on soft earth, an imprint of Harṣa's name became clearly visible. I have examined this incident elsewhere.

A student of numismatics should be happy that in India's Gupta age when some of her best coins were minted and some of her best dramas produced, in at least two great literary compositions a signet ring played a decisive role.

1. वृषाडकामभिनवघटितां हाटकमयीं मुद्रामुपनिन्ये । जग्राह च तां राजा ।
समुपस्थिते च प्रथमत एव मृत्पिण्डे परिभ्रष्ट्य करकमलादधोमुखी महीतले
पपात मुद्रा । मन्दाश्यानपंकपटले मृदुमृदि सरस्वतीतीरे स्फुटं व्यराजन्त
राजयो वर्णनाम् ।

TIRHOOT DURING EARLY BRITISH RULE

BY

P. C. Roy Chaudhary

Creation of Sarkar Tirhoot, Tirhoot Division.

The administrative district of Tirhoot comprising of the modern districts of Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga was created in 1782 purely for administrative exigency. The first Collector was Francois Grand.

From 1782 to 1908 is a far cry and at the present moment it is difficult to realise how Patna continued from 1782 to 1908 to be Headquarters of the Patna Division which comprised Tirhoot. Tirhoot had to be split later into the two districts of Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga just as Sarkar Saran had to split into the districts of Saran and Champaran. The same administrative exigency that was at the bottom of the creation of a separate Sarkar Tirhoot from Sarkar Behar was at the root of the creation of Tirhoot Division with a separate Commissioner in 1908. Some old correspondence, preserved in the Record Room at Muzaffarpur, shows the same type of language expressing the same type of sentiments that brought into existence Sarkar Tirhoot in 1782 and then a separate division for Tirhoot with Headquarters in Muzaffarpur on the 18th November, 1908. Sir Andrew Fraser, the Lt. Governor, felt strongly the need of dividing the Patna division into two Commissioner's charges as a matter of urgent administrative exigency. Sir Andrew Fraser proposed that the Northern Commissionership should be called Muzaffarpur Division, but Ridgely, Secretary to the Government of India in the Home Department, suggested the name to be Tirhoot Division and this suggestion was ultimately accepted. Tirhoot is an old name.

First twenty years of British Rule.

A study of the old correspondence, preserved in the Revenue

Record Room of Muzaffarpur, gives about some idea the main trends of the administration during that period. The main idea behind the administration was to collect the revenue and to encourage trade for and on behalf of the Company. There was no hesitation to put the defaulter of rent to prison or sometimes to torture him so that his people would come forward and make up the arrears.

Centralised Administration.

The Governor-General and the members of his Council and then the Board of Revenue consisting of a President and a few members controlled the local administration in the Sarkars (districts) which was carried on by the Collectors. The old correspondence shows an over-centralised administration with the Collector at the Sarkar Headquarters who in many cases wanted to make as much gain as he could for his own sake without, however, seriously jeopardising the interests of the Company. Frequent warnings used to be issued to the Collectors, who were seriously reprimanded or punished for their lapses. The Collectors may have been a terror to the people but they had no stamina to make an effective protest even when their day to day administration was questioned. The reason was their inefficiency or corruption.

Collector fined

The first Collector of Sarkar Tirhoot, Francois Grand, was once fined one month's pay for not sending the Treasury account to the Accountant General in time. The order of this punishment of one month's fine was sent on 22.5.82. Later Grand satisfactorily explained his position and Sir John Shore in a letter on 22.8.1782 communicated that the fine was remitted. In another letter, dated 31st July, 1783, the Board communicated to Grand a warning against Company's servants forcibly occupying grounds that was not their property and erecting buildings on them and then applying for sanction.

Private business of Collectors

The Company's Servants were still carrying on their own private trade. Francois Grand, the first Collector of Tirhoot, was running several indigo concerns of his own and took pride in being the first man to introduce the western method for manufacturing indigo dye. Ultimately Francois Grand was discharged from service because of this private business at Tirhoot.

Another Collector, Bathurst, also came to grief because of private dealings. In 1793 a form of oath was prescribed for the Collectors and before assuming their responsibility they had to take the oath. A part of the oath ran as follows:—

"I will not demand, take or employ directly or indirectly by myself or by any other person for my use or on my behalf or from any Raja, Zamindar, Talukdar, Polygar, Rector, Ryat or other persons paying or liable to pay any tribute, rent or tax for the use of the said United Company in sum of money, or other valuable thing by way of gift and presents or otherwise for and on behalf or besides and accept, actual tribute, rent or tax authorised to be taken by and for the use of the said United Company and that I will justly and truly account and answer to the said United Company". Bathurst was the first Collector who was asked to take the oath.

Besides indulging in indigo cultivation the Company's servants were engaged in the private manufacture and illicit trade of salt, and a proclamation was issued on the 3rd June, 1789, prohibiting unlicensed manufacture of salt. It was laid down that any penalty as the Governor-General may think proper would be imposed. Another source of illegal gain was found while bridges and roads were made. This led to the wide publicity of a proclamation on the 9th April, 1789, that the daily wages of a manual labourer for the repair of the bridge at Fatwa near Patna will be 5 pice for every adult day-labourer per day and 3 pice for every boy or woman. This proclamation incidentally gives an index to the price level of the main commodities.

Strict discipline

The Governor-General in Council was taking serious view of the lapses of the Company's servants. Sweedland, Collector of Tirhoot in 1796, was detected by the Military Auditor General having wasted a lot of Government money by payment of full salary to the persons who had been invalidated. There was an Invalid Establishment in Bhagalpur. Collector Sweedland paid full pay to such personnel of Sarkar Tirhoot sent to the Invalid Establishment in Bhagalpur. Sweedland had to make good the loss personally. Another charge against Sweedland was that these invalids had been promised lands in Tirhoot, but they had never been put in possession of the lands. Sir John Shore, Governor-General, reprimanded Sweedland for this.

In a letter from the Revenue Board, dated the 11th October, 1799, to Sweedland, Collector of Tirhoot, we find that the Board had found the charge of misappropriation against the late Collector of Burdwan substantiated. Evidently there was misappropriation of an amount of the Establishment and a warning was circularised to every Collector that they were not to make any alterations in the distribution of their Establishment under any pretext whatever, and that any actual misappropriation (of the amount) which can be viewed in other light as embezzlement of public money will be considered not only as a ground for the immediate dismissal from his office, but as subjecting them to such penalty to which they may be liable in consequence of public trust.

Even a small administrative detail such as change of a Record Keeper in the Collector's Establishment attracted the attention of the Governor-General in Council. In 1802 it appears that one Ganga Dutt was changed as the Record Keeper at Sarkar Tirhoot and another man namely Sheikh Muzaffar Haque was appointed. Certain documents were missing. The Collector, J. Rattray, was pulled up for this and the Revenue Board on the 20th August, 1802, ordered the Collector to enforce the attendance of Ganga Dutt through the Magistrate and to have the Records

thoroughly examined before witnesses to find out what records were not forthcoming.

Europa and India paper

Even such minute details as to what type of paper should be used and for what purpose were considered by the Government. On the 17th September, 1802, the following orders were issued by the Revenue Board:—

“Ordered that the circular letter written to all public officers directing their attention to the orders of the 21st May, 1801 relating to the expenditure of stationery and that they be informed, that Bengal paper is only to be used for envelopes of letter and such other documents as are not intended to be preserved as records and that all documents of an opposite nature must invariably be written upon Europa Paper.”

The value of Europa Paper could be realised from the fact that the paper on which this order was written is still in a beautiful state of preservation in the Record Room of Muzaffarpur after 150 years.

Taxation

The Board of Revenue was not only keen to have the revenue collected without any default, but also to impose fresh taxes. A tax on tobacco, betelnut and *pan* was contemplated as early as 1800. The Board of Revenue directed R. Graham, Collector of Tirhoot on the 18th April, 1800 “to report the description of people by whom tobacco, betelnut and *pan* were sold by retail, whether the sale of them was a separate profession or whether any other and if any, what other articles were also sold by the vendors of them.” Graham was also asked to report the best mode of collecting the revenue on these articles, and if it would not be wise to have different rates of commodities for the cities, towns and villages and to what proportion these rates would bear to each other. Graham had to report if the taxes were likely to operate unequally or oppressively on any description of people), whether it would offend any of their

prejudices and customs or be otherwise considered objectionable.

Trade with Nepaul.

Trade with Nepaul was being encouraged and the Nepaul Government was being requested to fix proper duties. In a letter, dated Tirhoot, 2nd February, 1792, R. Bathurst, Collector of Tirhoot, gave a list of articles exported and imported to and from Nepaul. The letter is as follows :—

“Enclosed you will receive the current exports and imports required by your letter of the 17th last. Though the articles are numerous the trade is very confined and is likely to continue so, unless the Nepaul Government can be prevailed upon to afford the protection to the trader and to reduce and, fix the Duties which are at present arbitrary and exorbitant.”

Exports to Nepaul

1. Salt, 2. White woollen cloth, 3. Muslin, 4. Malda cloth, 5. English Red cloth, 6. Hindusthani shoes, 8. Muskets, 8. Nutmegs, 9. Clove, 10. Pepper, 11. Soopari, 12. Cocoanut, 13. All sorts of pulses, 14. Opium.

Import from Nepaul

1. Gold dust, 2. Crude Borax, 3. Ivory, 4. Wax, 5. Cow's tails 6. Lead, 7. Iron, 8. Copper, 9. Cochin cloth, 10. Chints, 11. Cinnammon, 12. Honey, 13. Sallajwee, 14. Tin.

Liquor License

Great strictness was observed in granting licenses for making liquor. According to Section 33 of regulation 6 of 1800 the Board of Revenue sent a particular form of license to Rickets, Collector of Tirhoot, in 1800. The license was to be granted to European distillers only and a draft form was also sent for the covenant to be executed by them.

The form clearly mentions that the Board of Revenue was acting in the name and on behalf of the United Company of

Merchants Agent of England trading in East Indies at their Presidency of Fort William in Bengal and that it was "for the manufacture of rum and other spirituous liquor during such period as the Governor General in Council for the time being may think proper and allow." The price was also fixed and a penalty of one Sicca rupee was fixed for every seer or quart of the said spirituous liquor which shall be disposed of in any manner contrary to the conditions and this penalty was made recoverable by a suit in the Dewani Adalat. One sicca rupee was also to be paid for every seer of the said spirituous liquor not to be exported.

Horse Farm

The importance of the horse at that time when horse drawn carriages were the fastest conveyance was realized as early as the 5th April in 1796. The Collector of Tirhoot was asked to find out possible grounds and to procure them for the use of "Honourable Company's Stud". A few days later on 29th April, 1796, it was decided that if the Proprietor refuses to part with the lands for the Stud, the Collector was directed to take the lands "on a fair and adequate rent agreeable to the usual rates of the district for lands of the said description." It appears that by the 6th May, 1796, the Governor-General in Council approved of the arrangements for the Stud. Pusa in Darbhanga district now famous for the location of the Central Sugar Cane Research station was the venue of the Horse farm.

Bonafide business in Opium and Indigo

Private business in Opium and Indigo was widely encouraged by the Government. The old correspondence from 1719 shows a brisk business in Opium and Indigo helped by regular advances to the opium Ryats by the Government. The Collectors were asked to help the bonafide Opium and Indigo Ryats and check contraband business in these commodities.

Statistics

The need for statistics for running the administration appears

to have been early appreciated. The proposals of the Collectors for taxation used to be accompanied with some sort mentions.

A letter from Tirhoot Magistracy on the 17th October, 1791 to Harrington, Secretary to the Board of Revenue, is as follows.

"I have the pleasure of transmitting you an abstract of an estimate of the population of the *Lakrage* land and in this Collectorship of Tirhoot....men 2, 20, 351 women 2,12,250...children 1,75,400 total 6,08, 011."

Patna Provincial Battalion

It is commonly thought that the Bihar Light Horse that was formed immediately after the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 was the first attempt to empanel Civilian Officials and non-officials into a battalion to be called upon when necessary. But the old correspondence shows that from the first November, 1803 the Patna Provincial Battalion came into existence. The Collector of Tirhoot was addressed by Capt. Stuart, the first Commanding officer of the Patna Provincial Battalion on the 5th October, 1809, to furnish him with such list of men as are able and willing to be enrolled in the new battalion. It appears that the recruits were from the other districts as well.

Gold Currency

The following quotation from a letter on the 24th August, 1792, from the Accountant General to the Collector of Tirhoot thus refers to gold currency :

"Orders have been issued by the authority of the Governor-General in Council for the purpose of establishing the currency of Gold in every part of the country, I request that you will not only particularise at the foot of your treasury accounts the several species of rupees which may be in your treasury as desired in my last letter of May you will also specify the component part of the balance in Gold."

NYĀYAMAÑJARĪ OF GURU TRILOCANA—A FORGOTTEN WORK*

By

Prof. Anantalal Thakur

The question of chronology in the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika system of Indian thought is perplexing in many respects. There are some current views which do not stand the test of critical examination. The relation between Vācaspati Miśra I and Jayanta Bhaṭṭa is one such problem which requires further scrutiny.

Scholars in India as well as in the West have tried to establish that either Jayanta was a pupil of Vācaspati or Vice versa. We propose to show in the following pages that there is no material to establish the relation either way.

We may briefly give the genesis of the conflicting views before we undertake a critical evaluation of both. A passage attributed to one 'Ācārya' in Jayanta's *Nyāyamañjarī* bears some semblance to a similar passage in the *Nyāyavārtikatātparyatikā* of Vācaspati. This has led Pandit Sūryanārāyaṇa Śukla¹ and some others to think that Jayanta was a pupil of Vācaspati. On the other hand, an introductory verse² in the *Nyāyakaṇikā* of Vācaspati is the mainstay of those who hold that the author of *Nyāyamañjarī* referred to as the Guru of Vācaspati in the verse is none else than Jayanta Bhaṭṭa.

My late revered Guru, Mm. Phaṇibhūṣaṇa Tarkavāgīśa in his Bengali work, *Nyāyaparicaya* refuted the relation either way.³ We think it proper to summarise his arguments briefly and add our own :

*Read in the Annamalainagar Session of the All India Oriental Conference, 1955.

1. *Nyāyamañjarī*, Banaras Chawkhamba Ed. Intro. p. 5.

2. अज्ञानतिमिरशमनीं परदमनीं न्यायमञ्जरीं हचिराम् ।

प्रसवित्रे प्रभवित्रे विद्यातरवे नमो गुरवे ॥

Nyāyakaṇikā, Pandit Ed. p. 1.

3. *Nyāyaparicaya*; Intro. p. 50 ff.

The relation cannot be accepted on geographical grounds. Vācaspati belongs to Mithilā and Jayanta was a Kashmirian. They follow the two distinct schools of Indian Logic current in their respective homelands and neither of them accepts any of the special views of the other. Vācaspati refers to his guru Trilocana in the *Tātparyatikā*, while Jayanta refers to Bhaṭṭa Sahata alias Dhairyarasi and Viśvarūpa as celebrated logicians of Kashmir of his time, in the *Āgamaḍambara*.¹ There is nothing to prove that the reference to the author of the *Nyāyamañjarī* points to Jayanta. The word 'Nyāya' is extensively used in the *Mīmāṃsā* literature also as we find in the titles—*Nyāyamālā* and *Nyāyakaṇikā*. Vācaspati's teacher in *Mīmāṃsā* also might have a '*Nyāyamañjarī*' to his credit.

My studies in the photographic copies of the works of Jñānaśrimitra and Ratnakīrti kindly placed at my disposal by the authorities of the Bihar Research Society and the Jayaswal Research Institute have brought to light a few references and quotations which have a direct bearing on the present topic. In his *Īśvara-vāda* (The title is ours. The ms. is without caption), Jñānaśrimitra extensively quotes the views of Śaṅkara (the Naiyāyika), Vācaspati, Vittoka, Bhūṣaṇakāra and Trilocana with a view to refutation. In one of these passages there is a clear reference to the *Mañjarī* of Trilocana.² In a subsequent passage, our

1. From the respect shown so Dhairyarasi, in the drama, one is led to assume that he was Jayanta's preceptor. It doubtlessly proves that there was no dearth of Logicians in Kashmir at the time.

2. मञ्जर्यां त्रिलोचनः पुनराह ब्रह्मिन्पूर्वकत्वेन व्याप्तं जन्म घटादि-
ष्वेवास्ति इति कुतः प्रतिपद्यसे, कृतबुद्धिहेतुत्वादिति चेत् । एवं तर्हि घटादीनां स
विशेषो वाच्यो येन महाभूतासंभविना विशेषेण घटादय एव कृतबुद्धि-
त्वादयन्ति न महाभूतानि । न तावत्कर्तृक्रियोपलब्धिविशेषः, अक्रियादिशिनोऽपि
कृतबुद्धिहेतुत्वाभ्युपगमात् । महत्त्वपरिमाणं विशेष इति चेत् । तस्यापि कारण
बहुत्वमहत्त्वप्रचयविशेषेभ्यो महाभूतेष्वपि दृष्टत्वात् । कृतकत्वमेव विशेष इति
न वाच्यम् । कारणसमवायलक्षणस्याभूतप्रादुर्भावस्य वा पृथिव्यादिष्वप्यवि-
शिष्टत्वात् । न चैतेभ्योऽन्यः शक्यो विशेषः शक्रेणापि निरूपयितुं यस्य भावाद्-
घटादय एव कृतबुद्धिहेतवो न पृथिव्यादय इति । (f. 22 b. l. 3-5)

author criticised the same view of the *Mañjari*.¹ Now this Trilocana, as we have seen elsewhere,² was a dominant figure between Uddyotakara and Vācaspati influencing the latter to a great extent in his Nyāya views. All these views appearing in different philosophical texts are connected with the Nyāya-system while some bitterly criticise the Buddhists. We have further shown that one *Nyāyaprakīrṇaka* has been attributed to him. The quotations in the *Īśvaravāda* prove beyond doubt that Trilocana had a *Mañjari* also to his credit.

In the *Kṣaṇabhaṅgādhyāya* of the same Jñānaśrimitra, there are two³ remarkable passages cited from one *Nyāyamañjari*. But

1. मञ्जरीस्तु पर्यनुयोगोऽस्थानवर्तितः। घटादिजातिरेव पुरुषध्याप्ता सिद्धेति वदताऽन्यत्र संशयमात्रस्य विवक्षितत्वात्। कुलालादिमनुष्यकृतबुद्धिश्च कृतबुद्धिरव्यक्ता। तदभावश्च जातिभेदे उत्तरीकृतः। स चोभयसिद्धतया न विसर्जनान्यवकाशयति, न चात्यन्तिकजातिभेदमन्तरेणोपपद्यत इति निवेदितम्॥

[29 b. b. 6-7]
2. The Naiyāyika Trilocana as Teacher of Vācaspati—Indian Culture, Vol. XIV. No. 1. g. 36 ff.

3. (i) एतेन यदपि न्यायमञ्जरीकारः प्राह,— ननु कार्योत्पत्तिहेतुयोषां सन्निधिमपेक्षते, ते खल्वपेक्षितसन्निधयः सहकारिप्रत्ययास्तस्य किं कुर्वन्ति। न किञ्चित्। केवलं कार्यमेव येषां भावाभावावनुविधत्ते ते कार्येणैवापेक्षितसन्निधयः सन्निपतन्तः तदेव कार्यं विवक्षितम्। हेतुना सह कुर्वन्तीति सहकारिण उच्यन्ते। ननु येन सह कुर्वन्ति तस्यैव कर्तारो भवन्तः सहकारिणो भवितुमर्हन्ति, यस्मादक्षणिकस्य स्वकार्यनिर्माणे द्विविधं सामर्थ्यम्—एकं निजं सामर्थ्यं द्वितीयं चागन्तुकं सहकार्यन्तरं तयोरभावे तत्कार्यानुपपत्तेः। तस्मादेव हि द्विविधात् सामर्थ्यात् कार्योत्पत्तेरभ्युपगमादेकमक्षणिकं गृहीत्वा तस्मादेव कार्योत्पत्तिं संभावयन्तः सामर्थ्यमेव हेतूनामविज्ञातवन्तः परं यस्मादक्षणिकस्यापि क्रमवतीषु तासु तासु क्रियासु कर्तव्यासु क्रमवत् सहकार्यन्तरमेव सामर्थ्यमङ्गीकुर्मः। तथा च क्रमवत्सहकारिनानात्वादपि क्रमवत् कार्यनानात्वोपपत्तेरशक्यं भावानां प्रतिक्षणमन्यत्वमुपपादयितुमिति—

Kṣaṇabhaṅgādhyāya, f. 12a. 6-12 l. 2

(ii) यथा तर्हि त्रिलोचनश्चर्वयति तथाऽनयोरपि नीयतामभिप्रायः तथा च न्यायमञ्जरी,—असाधारणमपि सत्त्वं माध्यमिकन्यायेन शक्यमुद्भावयितुम्। तथाहि, क्षणवादेऽपि पूर्वो रूपक्षणो येन भावनानन्तरमुपादेयक्षणमुत्पादयति, किं तेनैव रसक्षणमपि? आहोस्वित् स्वभावान्तरेण? यदि तेनैव, रसस्यापि रूपत्वप्रसङ्गः। न ह्येकं स्वभावात् कारणात् कार्यभेदं पश्यामो विश्वस्याहेतुकत्वं प्रसङ्गात्। अथ स्वभावान्तरेण करोति, यद्येवमेकस्य विरुद्धं स्वभावद्वयं प्रसज्यत। रूपजननस्वभावो हि रसजननस्वभावान्नाव्यभिचारी। तत्र यदि स्व-

none of them has anything in common with Jayanta's work. Again, the first passage has been summarised and attributed to Trilocana by Ratnakīrti.¹ The identity of arguments as well as of expressions in the passages cited by Jñānaśrīmitra and Ratnakīrti leaves no room for disbelieving the obvious identity of Trilocana with the author of the *Nyāyamañjarī* in question.

The second passage is also a fragment from the *Nyāyamañjarī* and has been cited in support of the opinion of Trilocana which has finally been refuted by Jñānaśrīmitra.

A critical reflection in all these facts makes the conclusion irresistible that Trilocana, the *guru* of Vācaspati has been referred to in the above mentioned verse in the *Nyāyakaṇikā* and no internal or external evidence can connect Vācaspati with Jayanta.

Recently, my friend Dr. J. S. Jetly has given much new information about one Mañjarikāra, whose views were held in immense esteem by Vācaspati Miśra.² Viewed in the light of the above observations, I am inclined to hold that this Mañjarikāra also is none else than our Trilocana. We may add in this connection that Jayanta has nowhere been mentioned by name in the Ms. examined by Dr. Jetly. On the other hand,

भावान्तरं भवेत्, भवेत् तत्रैव तस्य भावोऽभावश्च, भावाभावौ च साक्षाद्विरुद्धौ पूर्वकं रूपक्षणं भिन्नः न च भिन्नो दृश्यतः सः।

स्यादेतत्। पूर्वस्य रूपक्षणस्य रसे कर्तव्ये स्वभावान्तरं पूर्वक एव रसक्षणो न तु विरुद्धे स्वभावान्तरमस्तीति। यद्येवमक्षणिकस्यापि क्रमवतीषु कार्यव्यक्तिषु स्वभावान्तरं क्रमवत् सहकार्यन्तरमेवेति सर्वं समानमन्यत्राभिनिवेशात्। तस्मादसाधारणमुपादानस्य स्वभावभेदोपपत्तेः क्षणिकेभ्यो निवर्तमानं सत्त्वम्। येन च प्रकारेण स्वभावभेदो निराक्रियते तस्य क्षणिकत्वेऽपि समानत्वात् सत्त्वमक्षणिकान्न निवर्तत। अतो व्यतिरेकासिद्धः प्रतिबन्धसिद्धिरिति। Ibid, p. 152 6.—15 l. 2.

1. त्रिलोचनस्याप्ययं संक्षिप्तार्थः। कार्यमेव हि सहकारिणमपेक्षते। न कार्योत्पत्तिहेतुः यस्माद् द्विविधं सामर्थ्यं निजमागन्तुकं च सहकार्यन्तरम्, ततोऽक्षणिकस्यापि क्रमवत्सहकारिणानात्वादपि क्रमवत् कार्यं नानात्वोपपत्तेरशक्यं भावानां प्रतिक्षणमन्यान्यत्वमुपपादयितुमिति :—Kṣaṇabhaṅga II. (Bibl. Indica) p. 58.

2. The Vivaraṇa pañjikā of Aniruddha (In ms. form) Journal of the Baroda Oriental Institute Vol. IV, p. 240 ff.

there are two references to Trilocana in the same. Further, Jayanta Bhaṭṭa mainly explained the sūtras of the first chapter of the *Nyāyadarśana*,¹ which are wanting in the said Ms. and the passages in question cannot reasonably be connected with the first chapter.

We hope to get more light on this point when the Ms. of Anirūddha's *Vivaraṇapañjikā* will be thoroughly examined. Let us hope further that the learned Doctor will earn the gratitude of all the students of Nyāya philosophy by publishing this important work.

1. अस्मानिस्तु लक्षणसूत्राण्येव व्याख्यास्यन्ते ।

Nyāyamañjarī, Chow. Edn. p. 11.

SOME HISTORICALLY VALUABLE PERSIAN PAPERS.

(Preserved in the Muzaffarpur Collectorate)

By

Shri Qeyamuddin Ahmad.

During the course of my study of the District records relating to the Movement of 1857-59, I had an occasion to visit the Muzaffarpur Collectorate Record Room and to study some historically valuable Persian papers preserved there.¹ My visit being chiefly meant for collection of materials for Kunwar Singh's biography, it was not possible for me to study all these documents exhaustively during the short period of my stay there. I have therefore, attempted to mention, here, only the comparatively important series of papers and to bring out their chief points of interest and importance.

Section I. Register of Hoshiyar Jung. Three Volumes.

The general records (Revenue) of the province of Bihar were prepared under the orders of George Vansittart, who was the Chief of the Revenue Council of Patna, in 1772. They were bound up in four separate volumes, each relating to a district. These Registers were designated, in Persian as "*Behi Hoshiyar Jung*" in memory of their originator-George Vansittart (Hoshiyar Jung). These records being valuable and constantly referred to on all question of land revenue, the Board of Revenue, on the 5th July, 1822, ordered a transcript of Registers to be made, for use in the office of the different collectors. The transcript was made under the general superintendence of Mr. Tilghman, Secretary of the Board of Revenue. Each page was attested by the copyist and the examiner.

1. These papers, well preserved and systematically arranged, are kept in the Double Lock Almirah.

The first volume of this Register is a collection of the Qanungoes *Jamāwāsilbāqee* (cash-balance sheets, showing the amounts realised and the balances due) for the year 1187F. (1772 A.D.) of the Parganas, then included in the Tirhoot district. It contains 1056 pages and was transmitted to the office of the collector of Tirhoot in June 1823. The second volume is also a collection of Qanungoes "*Jamawasilbaqee*" for the same year, of the following Parganas, then included in the Behar District, but since being transferred to Tirhoot. 1. Sarsia, 2. Hajipur, 3. Nyee-pur, 4. Gudhsund. It contains 187 pages and was transferred to the collector's office in March 1826. The third volume, similarly contains the accounts, relating to 1180 F. of the Parganas, then included in the Saran District. It numbers 474 pages and was transferred to the collector of Saran in June 1823. It is rather surprising as to how this Register for the Saran district came over to the Muzaffarpur collectorate.

These Registers were the sheet anchor upon which the revenue administration of the E.I.Co. authorities was based. Their preparation shows that the English, after the assumption of Dewany, (1765) lost no time in checking up the areas, as well as their potential revenue yields, acquired by them. A detailed statistics of the areas of all the villages as well as their Jumma was prepared, in the shape of these Registers, and the subsequently raised structure of the revenue administration was essentially based upon them.

Section II. Statement of *Minhāi* (Revenue-free)

*Villages in Tirhoot Collectorate, vide Section XX, Reg.
XXXVII of 1793.*

The problem of *Minhāi* (revenue-free) lands was one which baffled, for a long time, the early English administrators. They had a vague idea that extensive areas of land were held free of assessment by virtue of numerous grants given from the Emperor down to petty Zamindars, since several centuries past. The existence of these tenures meant so much loss of revenue to the Exchequer and various attempts had been made by the early

British administrators to bring these lands under assessment. However they had to move cautiously as powerful vested interests were involved in the matter. They dealt with the problem in several stages. The first stage was to have an exact idea of the amount of land thus held rent-free. This was achieved by Regulation XXXVII of 1793. (Several Regs : had already been passed, on this topic, earlier). This Regulation was meant for trying the validity of the titles of persons, holding rent-free lands, and for fixing the amount of assessment upon the land, the grant for which was adjudged to be invalid. Section XX of this Regulation required the District collectors to bring out Public Notices, in Persian and Hindi, calling upon all holders of revenue free lands to register the same by a Particular date, and under certain specified columns.

These papers were prepared in accordance with the provisions of the above mentioned section. They contain an account of the *Minhai* villages in the different Parganas of Sarkar Hajipur, under the following heads.

I. (Denomination of grant, whether Altamghā, Aymma etc.)
 II. (Name of grantor.) III. (Name of original grantee.) IV
 (Date of grant.) V. (Name of present proprietor; if he be not
 the original grantee his relationship to him : whether succeeded
 hereditarily or by purchase or otherwise) VI (Names of Villages
 or Mahāls comprised in the grant, in which the land may be
 situated. VII. (The name of the Zamindar or other proprietor of
 the Mahāl or village included in the grant; whether such
 Zamindari or proprietary rights shall be vested in the grantee
 or any other person). VIII. (Measurement of each Mahāl or
 village included in the grant). IX. (Copy of the original grant
 and other writings under which the land may be held). This
 Bundle contains papers of 682 such villages spread over
 28 parganas of Sarkar Hajipur.

It may be mentioned that there are 4 volumes of Registers, arranged Parganawise, in the Champaran collectorate, also containing similar account, of the *Minhai* villages. The columns under which information is supplied are almost identical.

These papers were preserved, primarily, for the administrative convenience of the early revenue authorities and, as such, have served their purpose, but even now their importance, for the study of the economic history of the area, remains unimpaired.

Section III. *Land Resumption Proceedings.*

These proceedings are arranged in separate dockets, each containing the proceedings relating to one Pargana. There are 18 such dockets for as many Parganas. Docket No. 19 contains some of the judgements in these Resumption cases. Land resumption proceedings were the first step towards the recovery of revenue free lands and their assessments. It is well known that grants of revenue free lands were extensively made by the Mughal Emperors as well as the provincial Governors and other high dignitaries of the state. It was as a matter of fact the most prevalent method of bestowing favours and patronage, and frequently the most convenient form of remuneration to government officials. These tenures were of a great variety and undoubtedly there was much confusion and anomaly prevailing when the English took over the Dewany. There were many cases in which people were improperly and illegally enjoying these revenue free tenures on fictitious claims, or even forged documents. The English therefore started a series of land resumption proceedings with a view to check the authenticity of the title deeds of these tenures. As remarked earlier, the English proceeded warily, and in stages, in this matter. The stringency and arbitrariness of these proceedings were developed slowly. Whereas Reg XXXVII of 1793 provided, that before the Government shall proceed to assess land, held revenue free, the right to do so shall be established by the decree of a civil court in a suit to be instituted on the initiative of the Government, Regs II of 1810 and III of 1828 made a radical alteration in this respect, and vested in the revenue authorities the primary cognisance and decision of such claims.

I had an occasion to read a very large number of such proceedings when I was working in the Record Room of the Divi-

sional Commissioner, Patna. Although in some cases rent-free lands may have been rightly resumed, there were, by far, too many cases to indicate that these proceedings were mainly intended for the expropriation of rent-free land holders with a very thinly veiled pretence of legal proceedings. A comparative study of these resumption proceedings of the Tirhoot collectorate may go, further, to strengthen the above view.

Section IV. *Sanads and Firmans.*

The title deeds of various villages in the shape of Firmans, Sanads, etc. have been collected in one place. They have, unfortunately, been torn out of their proper context and this creates a difficulty in forming a full and clear picture of the grant. A patient search and study of these papers may yet bring out the connecting links. The extra-ordinarily large number of Firmans and Sanads, etc. will be evident from the following list. The earliest Firman is of Jehangir dated 1020 A.H.

| | |
|---|-----|
| <i>Firmans</i> | 139 |
| { Sanads of Governors and other provincial | |
| { Officers and big Zamindars. | 463 |
| Amal-Dustaks. | 311 |
| Parwanas. | 216 |
| Pattas. | 578 |

Section V. *Register of Qanungoes Reports.*

There are two separate but complementary sets of such Registers. One contains the Reports of Qanungoes on various subjects, in compliance, with the official instruction of the higher authorities while the other comprises of Parwanas (Official instruction) issued to the Qanungoes by District and Revenue authorities, seeking information on diverse topics. There are two Registers in the first series, containing 91 and 38 written, and 32 and 20 blank pages, of foolscap size, respectively. One

Register contains copies of the full reports, while the other maintains an Abstract of these report. Most of the reports are from a particular Qanungo named Chowdhri Mahendra Narain Singh who was in charge of 4 paraganas, named Basontre, Dhodhan Begra, Mahind and Kumhra, in sarkar Hajipur. The reports are signed by one Mandhātā Sing who was the Muharrir (clerk) of the said Qanungo. This, along with several other references in the reports themselves, indicates the existence of a fairly large and efficient establishment of the Qanungo.

These reports, relating mostly to the year 1824, are addressed to different officers, Magistrates, Secretary Board of Revenue, and many others. Their contents vary according to the officers to whom they are addressed. Those addressed to the magistrate, for instance, are concerned with matters of law and order, whereas those sent to the Board of Revenue relate to the area, Jumma, and produce of various villages, verification of an individuals's share in a village, preparation of Registers, etc.

There are 3 registers in the second series. They are more voluminous and each contains several separate sections. These parwanas cover a wide variety of subjects. A cursory perusal of the thousands of Parwanas spread over these volumes shows the following subjects; Collections of land revenue, partition, mutation, confiscation, measurement of land, realisation of arrears, appointments and dismissals of Patwaris, Sazawals and other subordinate staff, rewriting of Registers, prevention of cattle stealing etc. One of the Parwanas conveyed to Qanungo his own dismissal order, on a charge of bribery, another instructed him to stop the Patwāries, and the other staff of his cutchery from taking illegal gratification from the villagers. Yet another instructs the Qanungo to affix his seal on all official letter, addressed to higher authorities. It goes on to explain that a host of reports were coming in from various Qanungoes and in the absence of seals it was difficult to be sure of their genuineness. Official letters, not bearing the seal, it warned, will not be treated as such and not acted upon. These Parwanas

cover the first 3 decades of the 19th Century.

Both these series complement each other, and are a fruitful source of information regarding local, revenue, and police administration.

An interesting feature of these Parwanas is that they invariably address the Qanungoes as *Sadaqat-Dastgāh* or Abode of Truth. This probably indicates the complete confidence of the higher authorities in the Qanungo for verification of all points at issue. The preservation, both, of the copies of the actual reports as well as their Abstracts, indicates a developed sense of archival values.

Section VI. *Miscellaneous Papers.*

There are several docketts of *Dafter Amānat* papers and *Pārīna* papers. They are arranged Parganawise and contain statistical accounts of various villages, the number of Mauzas in each, their area, and Jumma, etc.

ELEPHANTS IN ANCIENT INDIAN ARMY.

By

Dr. B. P. Sinha

The use of elephants in war appears to be a distinction of the military system of ancient India. The pathetic reliance on the elephants in war inspite of tragic experiences against swift moving cavalry of Alexander, the Huns, or the later Turk is yet to be satisfactorily explained. When and how was elephant first drafted into army is not yet definitely known.

The seals discovered in Harappa and Mohenjodaro prove beyond doubt that elephants were known to the Indians of the third millennium before Christ. As the elephant appears on seals it is safe to presume that the animal was so important as to obtain a religious and sacred character. From the seals one is struck by the ability of the artist in portraying the great volume and the imperial dignity of the animal. No seal shows the animal in wild mood and one may be permitted to suggest that domestication of the animal was already an accomplished fact in those ancient days. To what uses the elephant after domestication was put by the Indus Valley people one can only imagine in view of the paucity of evidence. Recently the Harappa excavations have revealed the existence of a dominating caste and this proves the presence of a ruling aristocracy under a monarch or a priest-king. Would it be wide off the mark to imagine that such an aristocracy would have drafted the domesticated stately elephant for its ceremonial ride? Unfortunately no seal depicting such a procession or the use of the elephant in war has been discovered so far. But it is only a negative argument. But it is possible that the elephant may have been used as conveyance at first and its potentiality as a wing of the army, in the field was realised later. Even when the elephant as an important wing of the army in the battle-field disappeared in the Muslim period the elephants were used as conveyance or beasts of burden and

accompanied the army. It is known that in the remote past the climate of the Indus Valley was very different from what is to day and it was fairly well wet in those days. The use of enormous quantity of timber in the architecture of the Indus Valley people has been accepted by all. Timber may have been obtained from the Himalayan regions of the Punjab. Elephants would have in such conditions must have served a very useful purpose as beasts of burden or means of carriage and transport. It is not known if the Indus Valley people realised the utility of the elephant in the battle-field. However when the Indo-Aryans came to India the Elephant was a strange animal to them. This is suggested by their earliest literature. In the R̥gveda¹ the elephant is called by the term 'm̥rga-hastin', 'the animal with a hand'. Roth concludes that the compound name is a proof of the newness of the animal to the Vedic Aryans.² Pischel combats this view.³ By referring to the elephant as 'm̥rgvarṇa' the R̥gvedic Aryans took the animal to be wild and dangerous. Had the conquering Aryans the bitter experience of the dangerous and terrible nature of the elephants in their wars against the indigenous peoples? The Greek army of Alexander was quite terrified at the sight of these dangerous and wild beasts in the battlefield. But very soon the Aryans realised the utility of the animal and were ready to employ the large and dignified gait of the elephant to express their own pomp and power. Though one may doubt Pischel's view that the R̥gvedic Aryans knew how to entrap elephants by the use of tame female elephants, it is clear from the later Vedic literature that the elephant was in use. Aitareya Brāhmaṇa refers to black white-toothed elephant adorned with gold.⁴ It was famous for its strength and virility.⁵ There was an elephant keeper or 'hastipa'⁶. Therefore there is no doubt that the elephant was considered a useful animal and the lavish

1. Vedic Index Vol. I p. 171.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid note 5.

4. Ibid, p. 171.

5. Ibid, p. 501.

6. Ibid.

decoration with gold etc. proves that it must have carried on its back royal or noble dignitaries. There is no mention of the use of the animal in war. But it was quite natural that in view of the animal's strength and terrible nature when made angry or wild, its use in war could not be far off. Its use in the war was at first on a very limited scale obviously because it was costly to maintain a large force of elephants for smaller states of the Vedic period and the Aryans had taken to elephant training recently. Hence it was generally employed for ceremonial purposes and very sparingly for war purposes. The Great Epic—Mahābhārata—is not a literary product of the pre-Buddhist days but it certainly describes more ancient traditions preserved in legendary tales having a historical bearing. According to Pargiter the Mahābhārata war was fought in about 950 B.C. while some responsible and cautious historians like H. C. Raychaudhuri would place the event some years earlier. However the event certainly happened, if it happened at all, a few hundred years earlier than the birth of Buddha. In the Mahābhārata war the main reliance is placed on 'cars, 'rathas' drawn by horses, which also would suggest an early date. But the elephants are also used in the war. "In the battle that ensued elephants rushed against elephants, car-warriors against car-warriors"... Sometimes¹ leading epic-princes are also seen on elephant-back. Duryodhana rode once on an elephant in the battle-field.² In the Kārṇa Parva Bhīma is seen riding on an elephant in armour of iron³. But it is significant that the king of Magadha was usually mounting an elephant in the Great War.⁴ Elephant-division of Magadha is specifically mentioned and it was badly mauled by Abhimanyu. Śalva, the ruler of the Mlechchhas mounting his elephant fought the Pāṇḍavas, and his elephant also fought dangerously.⁵ He was a king of Kārusha, which has been identified with the southern part of Shahabad district of the state of Bihār.

1. Mahābhārata, Virāt-parvan (Eng. tr) p. 78.

2. Ibid, Bhīshmaparva, p. 65.

3. Ibid, Kārṇa-parva, p. 36.

4. Ibid Bhīshmaparva p. 236.

5. Salyaparva, p. 79

Bhānumat, king of Kalinga, was also in the battle-field on elephant.¹ Bhagadatta, king of Kāmarūpa and the chief of Daśarṇas fought from elephant's backs.² So it may be said that in the eastern India and the forested tracts of Central India the use of elephants in war was more common or traditional than in the Kuru-Panchāla country, seat of Aryan power. It is well known that Eastern India was Aryanised later and there non-Aryan or pre-Aryan traditions persisted and were mostly assimilated into Aryan culture in due course. I would not be surprised if evidences were found to show that elephants were used in war by the Non-Aryans and the idea was later borrowed by the Aryans some time later than the Ṛgvedic period. In this connection it may be of some significance that Indra, the prime War-god of the Ṛg Vedic Aryans who was called 'purbhettā-destroyer of the cities, was later believed to have mounted his characteristic *vāhana* Airāvata-the white elephant, which we know was used in breaking through forts and also played havoc in the battle-field later on; it is also important to bear in mind that the main stay of the Magadhan army was its elephant wing before and after Chandragupta Maurya. There is no doubt that the elephants were used in war in India before Alexander's invasion of India. In Bhīmasena Jātaka we are told that Bhīmasena armed cap-a-pie mounted on a war-elephant sheathed in complete armour.³ The Bodhisattva stormed the city of Banaras with the help of his war-elephant.⁴ In the scene depicting war of Relics one of the chiefs among the claimants is seated on an elephant, and the same scene is depicted on the western Gateway of Sāncī showing four of the seven chiefs on elephants.⁵ So by the time Alexander invaded India elephantry had become the main element in the Indian art of war. As a matter of fact it had created an impression also in neighbouring countries as well. Alexander faced an elephant division in the battle of Arabela

1. Ibid, Bhīshmaparva, p. 159.

2. Drona parva, p. 88.

3. Jātaka I, no. 8.

4. Ibid Vol. II No. 200.

5. Monuments of Sanchi, I. p. 114, plate 6.

against Darius III. This must have been borrowed from the Indian provinces of the Achaemenian empire. But Alexander was for the first time pitted against a large and dangerous force of war-elephants by Porus who relied on the elephants for victory against the world-hero Alexander and his famous swift cavalry and trained phalanx. Everybody knows the result of the battle of Jhelum. But it would be wrong to put all the blame on the elephants. The weather, the swift horse-mounted Scythian archers and superior manouveres of Alexander with surprise elements in the strategy no less contributed to his success. At any rate Alexander and his army were deeply impressed by the array of elephants in front of the battle-line. "I see at least a danger that matches my courage. It is at once with wild beasts and men of uncommon mettle that the contest now lies," said Alexander.¹ In spite of the victory in the battle the Macedonians had learnt to respect the elephant division in the enemy's line. When Alexander's troops refused to move east of the Jhelum, Alexander suspected that the rumour about the monstrous size of the elephants of the ruler of Gangaridai and Prasii could be a deterrent factor.² According to Diodorus the knowledge about the multitude of the elephants of the Gangaridai made Alexander to defer the expedition against them.³ The king of Gangaridai and Prasii maintained a force of 3000 to 6000 war-elephants. Thus it appears that the emperor of Magadha largely relied on a big elephant division in his army and somehow this threw cold water on the conquering zeal of the mighty army of Alexander which had known no important defeat so far. Thus by the time of Alexander's invasion, the elephant division had become the main prop of Indian military system and it had superseded chariotry in this context. Porus fought Alexander from the biggest elephant's back. And in spite of the defeat of the Indian army the Indian kings and military strategists did not think it necessary to

1. Invasion of India by Alexander, p. 209.

2. Ibid, p. 224.

3. Ancient India as described in Classical literature, p. 201.

4. Invasion of India by Alexander, p. 222, p. 316.

modify their view about the utility and place of the elephants in the Indian army : Chandragupta Maurya who followed Alexander and had also watched Macedonian military organisation and strategy maintained the largest elephant division known so far, 9000 war-elephants.¹ Though it would be wrong to hold that domestication of elephants falls in the Maurya period, there appears to be some ground for believing that Magadha invented and had a lead in the technique of use in elephant-warfare. We have seen that in the Mahābhārata war elephants were associated with Magadha, and that by the time of Alexander's invasion the elephant-division had become the most important wing of the army. It is very possible that still more augmented and trained elephant division of the army of Chandragupta contributed substantially to the military successes of the emperor. It was therefore on the basis of experience that Kautilya opined. "It is on elephants that destruction of an enemy's army depends²." Maintaining and training an elephant was a royal monopoly and killing an elephant was a capital offence. Elephant forests were royal preserves in the Mauryan period. The Macedonian and Bactrian Greeks were very much impressed by the elephants in the army and Seleucus ceded four provinces in return for the gift of 500 elephants by Chandragupta.³ His army included elephants, and elephants became symbol of his dynasty⁴. His victory over Antigonus in the battle of Ipsos is attributed to the use of elephants⁵. The Syrian emperor Antiochus III crossed the Indian borders but returned back after receiving presents including 150 elephants from Subhāgasena.⁶ In war against Rome his army included elephants also⁷. The use of elephants in the army of Bactrian Greeks may be inferred from the evidence of their coins. Demetrius I has

1. Mauryan polity, p. 1960.

2. Kautilya's Arthśāstra, Bk. 6. Ch. IX, p. 363.

3. Political History of Ancient India.

4. Cambridge Ancient History, vol. VI, pp. 408-9.

5. Political History of Ancient India, p. 361.

6. Political History of Ancient India, p. 361.

7. A History of the Roman World, p. 282.

elephant head on his coins,¹ an elephant is found on the reverse of the coins of Hermeus and on the coins of Menander also Elephant's head is to be seen. Thus the elephants left an enduring impression on the Bactrian Greek rulers of India is absolutely clear. But even outside India the utility of this animal in war was realised. In war against Rome Pyrrhus, king of Epirus used elephants which terrified the Romans.² Hannibal, the great Cathegian leader and one of the greatest military generals of the ancient world began his attack on the Roman army at the battle of Ou-et-tine by charge of elephants.³

The above account shows that the use of elephant in war, after the defeat of Purus's army by Alexander, became more common and important and powers outside India were attracted towards this characteristically Indian element in the art of war. The Scythians and the Kuṣhāṇas conquered large parts of India by the help of mounted archery on horseback. There is no doubt that due to the Śaka conquests the importance on cavalry, specially archers on horse-back, became more and more important. But it is significant to note that the great Śaka Kshatrapa Rudradāman had also an elephant division in the army as is known from the Junagarh inscription of Rudradāman. In the Gupta period cavalry was a very important wing of the army and the Gupta emperors like Chandragupta II and Kumāragupta I are seen on horse-back with bow and anow on the coins. But the elephant continued to be in use. Kumārgupta I is seen riding an elephant and slaying a lion on one of his coin types. Kāmandaka Nitisāra, which is generally assigned to the Gupta period, refers to the four traditional parts of the army. In the post-Gupta period the elephant division of the army continued to be regarded a very useful arm of the army. According to the contemporary traveller Yuan Chwang the army of Harsha included a large contingent of 60000 elephants, much larger in this

1. Whitehand-Cat. I coins in Punjab Museum, p. 13. pl. 1. No. 21.

2. A History of the Roman World, p. 130-31

3. Ibid, p. 245.

sense than even the Mauryan army.¹ Even in the post-Harsha period elephants continued to be important in the military sense. The army of the Pālas had an elephant force under a Pilupati. In the war against Dahir, king of Sindh, the Arab faced for the first time the imposing array of chiefs mounted on armoured war-elephant and led by their king Dahir. In his wars against Ghaznivid Turks the kings of Udabhaṇḍapur always included elephants in their armies though were repeatedly defeated. But what is more interesting is that Subuktagin included a demand for fifty elephants or five stables full of elephants in the treaty that he imposed on Jayapāla². Does it not show that even the best cavalry leaders like the Turks appreciated some utility of elephants in war? In the large confedency that Jayapāla organised against the king of Ghazni were included a large number of elephants besides 'an innumerable host of foot', but the result went against the Hindus. Jayapāla's son Ānandapāla organised another confederacy to meet Sultan Mahmud in 1008 A.D. and this confederate force must have had a significant elephant force. The Hindus were on the point of winning the war when accidentally, naphtha balls struck the elephant on which the leader Ānandapāla was seated and the elephant fled with the rider and the Hindu army thinking that their leader was fleeing away broke into panic and what was probably going to be a glorious victory was thus turned into a tragic rout. In spite of the unfortunate experiences the Hindus did not abandon their hope on elephants. Prithvirāja faced Sihabuddin Muhammad of Ghor with a large army consisting of 200000 horse and 3000 elephants in the first battle of Tarain in 1191 A. D.⁴ and defeated the invaders. But the next year Sihabuddin returned and defeated the Hindu confederacy under Prithvirāja, who had this time under him a larger cavalry (300000) and 3000 elephants as before.⁵ It would

1. Watters I, p. 343;

2. Briggs I, p. 18.

3. A History of Kanauj, p. 283.

4. Briggs I, p. 172.

5. History of Kanauj p. 327.

be hardly fair to attribute the defeat in the second battle of Tarain to the elephants but deny them a share in the victory in the earlier battle. Jayachandra who had not joined the confederacy against Sihabuddin was destined to bear the onslaught of the Muslim invader and though Jayachandra's army included 700 elephants and about one million men he was signally defeated.¹ The Hindu kingdoms continued to have a soft corner for an elephant division down to the 15th century A.D., and the Vijayanagara army also included an elephant division.

The foregoing brief account of the history of elephantry in war in ancient India would show that this arm of the army as any other contributed to successes or reverses in wars on different occasions. It is usual to attribute the defeats of the Indian forces against the Greeks, or the Śakas, or against the Arabs or Turks later, to the failure of the elephantry against the mobile cavalry of the invaders. But then it becomes difficult to explain the success of the Mauryas against the Greeks and the desire of the Greeks, Bactrian Greeks, Carthegians, and even the Turks to possess an elephant division for themselves. In spite of the knowledge of the mounted scythian archers the Indian emperors like Harsha won victories with a large elephant division. And certainly Prithvirāja won the first battle of Tarain against Sihabuddin even when the former had 3000 elephants in his army. Ānandapāla had practically won the battle but for an accident? We would therefore suggest that the responsibility of the elephants for Indian reverses should be more cautiously assessed. It was no doubt true that the elephant division was a slower moving force compared to the cavalry and that the largeness of the animal made it easier target for the archer. But it could and did create havoc in the enemies' camps by its roaring shouts and mad and furious onslaughts. Then it could accomodate a much larger number of combatants on its back than the chariot or the horse. Indian army's real weakness was the mounted horse-archer, which largely contributed to

1. Ibid, p. 329

the success of the Scythians or the Turks. The Guptas appear to have adopted this system but it could not become popular with the ancient Indians. The real causes of the defeats of the ancient Indians against the invaders from the north-west are to be sought elsewhere: the inferiority of Indian cavalry, the ineffectiveness of the foot soldiers, the absolute dependence on the king or the commander in the battlefield. The last mentioned point is prominently clear in the panic caused by Ānandapāla's forced withdrawal from the field. It may be compared with the composure displayed by the Greek army when Alexander was severely injured once in the course of the Indian campaign. The thing was that while India proper was no suitable ground for breeding best war-horses, war-elephants were naturally obtainable in this country. In most of the decisive battles the Indians lost because of inferior strategy, weaker morale, and chivalrous code of war ethics compared to their more resolute enemies. Traditional methods of pitched battles and bookish military arrays in face of hit and run tactics proved an expensive proposition. Defensive strategy against aggressive warfare was not always beneficial, especially when the enemy was determined and was relying on fast cavalry.

THE MUTINY OF 1857-58 AND THE PALAMAU JAGIRDARS.

By

Dr. Jagadish Narayan Sarkar

(A) Introduction

The Mutiny of 1857-58 was a gigantic explosion of anti-British forces. Its repercussions were not confined to Delhi, Meerut, Cawnpore, Lucknow, Jhansi, Rohilkhand, Oudh and Allahabad and such places, but also felt in remote places in Bengal and Bihar. Chotanagpur, though distant, was not lightly affected by these stirring events and caught the flame of resistance and was shaken with the spirit of independence from British yoke. The districts of Hazaribagh, Ranchi, Palamau, Singhbhum and Manbhum were all aglow with it. Thakur Biswanath Sahi of Barkagarh and Pande Ganpat Rai of Bhaunroh, the 8th Native Infantry at Hazaribagh, Subadar Jaimangal Pande and Subadar Nadir Ali and Jamadar Madho Singh in Ranchi, the Ramgarh Battalion in Ranchi, Purulia, Chaibasa, the Bogtah Nilambar Sahi and Pitambar Sahi, the Chero Debi Bakhsh Rai and Parmanand, the Kharwar *Ilakadar* of Kundu, the Raja of Porahat in Singhbhum, Rajah Nilmani Singh Deo of Pachete (Panchkote) all participated in varying degrees in raising the banner of resistance to the British. But, for various reasons, their efforts, which occupy an important place in the history of the struggle for Indian independence, failed, and in the suppression of their insurrections, the British government received considerable help from other fellow Rajhas and *jagirdars* and individuals. Thus, while some landholders fought against the British, others fought with or for the British against their own fellows. Indeed, the part played by the landed aristocracy of Chotanagpur in this movement, either against or for the British is an inspiring and instructive study pregnant with valuable lessons.

This paper is an attempt to study the movement in Palamau,—its causes, progress and sequel, with special reference to the conduct and attitude of the principal *Jagirdars* of Palamau during the insurrection. It is based principally on some unpublished records, preserved in the record room of the Commissioner of Chotanagpur,—nine letters of Captain E. T. Dalton, the acting Commissioner of Chotanagpur (in his own handwriting) to A. R. Young Esq., Secretary to the government of Bengal, dated camp Chaibasa.¹ The letter of 21st June, 1858 seems to have been subsequently typed and there are two typescript copies also in the file. It is rather difficult to decipher the handwriting at places, and the damages due to the paper being cracked and torn and pasting of slips have been sought to be removed and omissions filled up by carefully comparing the original with the typed copies and also with the Minute of the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal. The typescripts, however, are full of mistakes and they must be checked with reference to the original ms. letter.

This letter is apparently one of the original letters of the Commissioner on which the account of the Palamau disturbances contained in "The Mutinies as they affected the Lower Provinces under the Government of Bengal, 1858," by Sir Frederick Halliday, the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal² is based. The sequence of events and even the language of the letter have been copied at several places in the Minute with some minor alterations and omissions. It must, however, be admitted that the Minute contains details not to be found in the letter: presumably these were culled from either other letters of the Commissioner

1.(1) No. P.dated 21.6.58.
- (2) No. 144.....dated 30.9.58.
- (3) No. 147.....dated 2.10.58.
- (4) No. 164.....dated 8.11.58.
- (5) No. 168.....dated 15.11.58.
- (6) No. 182.....dated 2.12.58.
- (7) No. 184.....dated 3.12.58.
- (8) No. 187.....dated 8. 12. 58.
- (9) No. 192.....dated 20.12.58.

2. *Vide* Buckland, *History of the Lieutenant Governors of Bengal* (Kedarnath Bose, second Edn.), Vol. I.
App., pp. 117-123.

or some other sources. The Minute has been copied in extenso in the *Palamau District Gazetteer*¹ and has been drawn upon also in the *Final Report of the Survey and Settlement operations in the District of Palamau* (1913-20).²

Nevertheless there are certain significant points contained in the letter of the Commissioner which are excluded wholly or partially, in the Minute of the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal and also in the District Gazetteer, viz.

- (a) the genesis of the insurrection in Palamau (paras 2-14)
- (b) additional details of the events. (para. 13-22)
- (c) suppression and sequel of the outbreak, besides the assessment of the roles of the principal leaders of the movement and the loyal supporters of the government, the policy of the Commissioner in creating a rift among the insurgents, rewarding the loyal supporters and punishing the leaders of the movement (paras 20-32). The other letters throw a completely new light on the movement during 1858, especially the junction of the Shahabad mutineers under Amar Singh and Seadha Singh with the Bogtachs, and the strategy of the British and their troop-movements.

I The Genesis of the movement in Palamau.

It is not wholly correct to say that all the general causes of the Movement of 1857-58 were at work in Palamau. While the general spirit of the local movement was anti-British as in the wider movement, there were certain special features which gave the local movement a distinctive aspect. Hence it cannot be understood without a reference to the local conditions.

About the middle of the 19th century the population of the Palamau district mainly consisted of the two tribes, the Cheros and the Kharwars, both of which were directly connected with the movement. The Kols and other savages did not take any part in it. There were a few Brahmans, Rajputs and other castes of Hindus who were opposed to it. There were also the Korewahs, a rude hill tribe having affinity with the Kols, some

1. By L. S. S. O'Malley, I. C. S. Revised by P. C. Tallents, I.C.S., 1926.

2. By T. W. Bridge, I.C.S., Settlement Officer, Chotanagpur, 1921.

of whom helped the Bogtaks. It is thus clear that the movement did not become wholly general and many sections of the people kept themselves aloof.¹

(a) *The socio-political organization of the Cheros.*

The Cheros, a Dravidian people, are said to have been an off-shoot of the Rajbhand tribe, which once ruled over a wide area extending from Gorakhpur to Bundellkhand. But before the increasing eastward advance of the Rajputs in the Gangetic plains, the Cheros were compelled to withdraw from Shahabad. Leaving their erstwhile possession of Rohtasgarh they advanced towards Palamau, then held by the Rexel (Raksel) Rajputs, and were employed as mercenary soldiers. But early in the 17th century the Cheros made war on the Rajput Raja, drove him into Sirguja in the Central Provinces (Madhya Pradesh) and by treacherous massacre of their patrons occupied Palamau (1613). The Chero leader, Bhagawant Rai, now became the Raja of the country and the conquerors settled in the country in 12,000 families and hence the Cheros came to be known as *Barahazaris*.² In this conquest of Palamau, Thakurai Puran Mal (son of Makhain Singh *alias* Deo Sahi) helped Bhagwat Rai in return for an assurance that the Thakurais would be the hereditary *Sarbarahkars* of Palamau i.e. enjoy authority to manage the country and the sole right to select the rulers from the reigning family of Bhagwat Rai. The Thakurais enjoyed this position as *diwans* and king-makers for a pretty long time down to the time of the British conquest. But it contained the seed of future friction between the Raja and the *diwan*. Thakurai Amar Singh rebelled (1721) against the Chero Raja Ranjit Rai and after putting him to death installed Jai Kishun Rai (head of the younger branch of the family). Thakurai Sainath Singh was, however, treacherously put to death by the new Raja. Jainath Singh, cousin of the murdered diwan in turn had the

1. Letter No. P. paras 2, 3.

2. Sarkar, *Aurangzib*, III. 31-32; *Gazetteer*, 177-178; Bradley-Birt, *Chotanagore*, Ch. VIII. Letter para 4.

raja murdered and enthroned Chitrajit Rai in 1764. Thus began a hereditary enmity between the Rajputs and the Cheros which had a large share in inciting the Cheros against the Rajput Thakurais of Chainpur and Ranka during the movement.

Secondly, the circumstances leading to the establishment of British rule in Palamau sowed the seed of disaffection and enmity between the dispossessed Cheros and their new masters. The first intervention of the British in the affairs of the Chero Raj of Palamau occurred in 1772, owing to protracted internecine quarrels between two rival Chero factions (1722-70). Two candidates claiming to be the rightful raja, one Gopal Rai, grandson of Jai Kishun Rai (head of the Babuan or younger branch of the family), the other Chitrajit Rai, grandson of the murdered ruling chief, Ranjit Rai, brought their suits to the British. The British, more interested in revenue collection than in family quarrels, decided to occupy the fort of Palamau. As Chitrajit's *diwan*, Jainath Singh, refused to agree to this even in return for recognition of Chitrajit's claim, the controlling Council at Patna decided to support the cause of Gopal Rai. The fort was occupied by the British in February, 1771. Gopal was made Raja (feudatory chief) on an annual tribute of Rs. 12,000 for 3 years and Udwant Ram, supporter of Gopal, was appointed *kanungo* of the *pargana* in return for his help in the bombardment of the fort. In 1773 two relatives of Gopal, Gajraj Rai (ancestor of Bistrampore family) and Sugand Rai (ancestor of Deogan family) were associated with him in revenue collection. Gajraj and Sugand, in an endeavour to gain the influence of Udwant Ram, opposed Gopal Rai. The murder of Udwant Ram was followed by the imprisonment and death of Gopal. The elevation of Gajraj to the position of manager of Basant Rai, the minor brother and successor of Gopal, led to the crystallization of opposition of Sugand with the Thakurais under Shiva Prasad Singh (nephew of Jainath Singh). By virtue of a settlement made in 1786 by Mr. Matthews Leslie (confirmed in the Decennial Settlement of 1789), the pro-British Shiva Prasad Singh was appointed manager of Churaman Rai, a

minor step-brother of Basant Rai (who had died in 1783), and the sums to be paid by the old Jagirdars of Bisrampore and Deogan every year were fixed, while the Thakurais also got a fairly extensive estates.

But the financial liabilities of the estate were so heavy and the methods of recovery so defective that the Palamau Raj rapidly gravitated towards bankruptcy. The resumption of subordinate tenures caused a widespread feudal resentment leading directly to the Chero insurrection in 1800, which had to be suppressed by British troops.

The incapacity of the last Raja, Churaman Rai, an indolent pleasure-seeker, the refractory conduct of the disaffected *Jagirdars* and the mounting revenue arrears led to the estate being put up to auction and the Government purchased it for Rs. 51,000 in 1814. The estate, because of its strategic position, as guarding a vulnerable frontier, of the wild nature of the country, consisting of hills and forests, and of the turbulent people and a proud feudal aristocracy, required a firm person, strong enough to coerce the *Jagirdars* but wise and just enough not to oppress them and able to maintain inviolate their rights and immunities and the existing assessments. Finally, in 1814, on the recommendation of Major Roughsedge, then commanding the Ramgarh battalion, it was granted to Raja Ghansham Singh of Deo (in Gaya district) on an annual revenue of Rs. 9,000 as a reward of past services in quelling the Chero and Kharwar insurrections. In 1817 there was another general insurrection of the *Jagirdars* against the new Raja's efforts to resume their tenures. Hence, to solve the agrarian difficulties in 1819 the estate was taken under *khas* management and so it remained till the Mutiny, 38 years later. The Cheros and Kharwars of Palamau joined the great Kol rebellion of 1832 in Ranchi.¹

Thus the imposition of British rule gradually but inexorably led to the extinction of Chero kingship. According to Bradley-Birt "the Cheros, deprived of their ancient line of chiefs, were

1. *Palamau District Gazetteer*. 29-34; Bradley-Birt, op. cit., Hunter, *Statistical Account* XVI. 468-70.

no longer the prime movers." But this is far from truth. Indeed, it is not surprising to find that attempts to restore the Chero dynasty would be made in 1857. Further, the traditional Chero-Rajput animosity was fanned not only by this spirit of restoration but by the *entente* between the British Government and the Rajput Thakurais. Moreover this party alignment was also dictated by feudal agrarian discontent of the *Jagirdars* and their risings in 1800, 1817 and 1832 were but the faint pre-sages of the coming storm a few years later

(b) *The socio-political organization of the Khyrwars.*

Unlike the Cheros, the Khyrwars had very few *Jagirdars* among them. One section (*gosthi* or clan) of these, the Bogtachs, occupied an unassailable position in the area lying between the lowlands of Palamau and the uplands of Sirguja and possessed almost inaccessible mountain fastness. They were lawless free-booters, whose predatory habits were somewhat repressed by the British Government conferring one jagir on two brothers, Nilambar and Pitambar Sahi, who shared the headship of the Bogtah Clan after the death of their father, an out-law.

(c) *The influence of the mutiny at Hazaribagh and Ranchi.*

'The mutiny of the native troops in Ranchi and Hazaribagh was an opportunity not to be lost by the turbulent tribesman of Palamau.' Pitambar was at Ranchi at the time of the outbreak of the Ramgarh battalion and he regarded the abandonment of the station by the officers to imply the end of the British Raj. The return of Pitambar from Ranchi to Palamau and the advance of the Hazaribagh regiment through Palamau towards Rohtas gave the signal to the Bogtachs to "arm, assemble and commence plundering." The two brothers declared themselves independent chieftains. They directed their first raids against Thakurai Raghubar Dayal Singh, who had long been at feud with them. Unaided the Bogtachs would have hardly been able 'to cope with the Rajput Jagirdars', but "the disturbance began to assume a more political aspect and ex-

panded into an incipient insurrection."¹

(d) *The Chero-Bogtah alliance.*

This development was the result of the conclusion of a Chero-Bogtah alliance. The last Chero Raja, Churaman Rai, died childless, leaving a widow. There were three collateral branches of the family, represented by Babu Bhavani Bakhsh Rai of Bistrampore, Babu Ram Bakhsh Rai of Chukla and Babu Devi Bakhsh Rai of Luckna.² On 26th September, 1857, Babu Bhavani Bakhsh Rai came to Shapur (opposite Daltonganj on the other side of the river Koel), the residence of the widowed Rani. A general meeting of all the Chero chiefs was convened there, either to elect a Chero Raja or to devise measures for the safety of the district. But whatever the purpose of the meeting, it was "followed by a general rising both of Cheroos and of Khyrwars."³ The first target of attack was Thakurai Raghubar Dayal Singh, the common object of enmity of both the Cheros and the Bogtahs. The Commissioner of Chotanagpur (Captain E. T. Dalton) rightly holds, "I am convinced that at this time the Bogtahs were not so fascinated with the idea of having a Chero dynasty over them as led to join the Cheroos for the sake of gratifying their old grudge against the Thakoorai, but it is quite clear that the Cheroos and others considered the destruction of the Takoorai and his party as essential to the success of their undertaking, because he was devoted to the interest of the British government; he felt confident that Government would not be subverted and he opposed himself in every way to the movement in favour of the Cheroes."⁴ This explains the motive of the Chero-Bogtah alliance, one of the principal factors in the Palamau movement, which the Commissioner tried his best to break up.

1. Letter P. paras 6-11.

2. Ibid. para 4.

3. Ibid. para 13.

4. Ibid. para 14.

(e) *Lack of Administrative Control over Palamau.*

In such an atmosphere seething with anti-British and anti-Rajput feelings, surcharged with revivalist spirit among the Cheros and the traditional marauding instinct of the Bogtahs, suppressed but never effaced, the stories of the mutineers at Hazaribagh and Ranchi and the "temporary expulsion" of government officials from Ranchi served to ignite the spark. It is doubtful if proper and efficient administrative control might have nipped the insurrection in the bud. But undoubtedly it was facilitated by the complete absence of any semblance of administrative control in Palamau.

Frequent changes in jurisdiction since 1800 and consequent transfer of records and officials increased the difficulties of administering the country.¹ After the suppression of the Kol rising of 1832, the modern division of Chotanagpur was formed as a non-Regulation Agency (the South-West Frontier Agency). Palamau was included in Lohardaga district (1834). But it was far away from the district headquarters (Lohardaga, 1834-44, Kishenpur or Ranchi, 1844-52) and from the Sadar Administrative Court at Gola. The most inaccessible of all was the subdivisional office at Koranda (1852-60, with jurisdiction over Sirguja and Udaipur). Leslieganj was the military and revenue headquarters. Thus "the pargana became the step-child of the Agency and its people got out of the way of seeking redress for their grievances from the established authorities as quite too inaccessible." At the time of the outbreak of the mutiny of the Ramgarh Battalion in August, 1857, "there was no representative of the administration other than a *tahsildar* nearer to Palamau than distant Koranda," situated on the S. W. boundary of Sirguja. There was "apparently only one English

1. Up to 1800—Palamau under Ramgarh.
- 1800-19 ...Palamau transferred to Bihar.
- 1819.....Palamau under Ramgarh collectorate.
- 1832.....Kol rising.
- 1834.....Palamau in Lohardaga district.
- 1834-44 ...Headquarters Lohardaga.
- 1844-52 ...Do Kishenpur (Ranchi).
- 1853.....a subdivision of Lohardaga district with Koranda in the Jamira Pat Plateau in Sirguja.

official" in Palamau on the eve of the outbreak Lieutenant Graham, Acting Assistant Commissioner.¹

(f) *Economic or financial factors.*

Fifthly, besides political motives, an economic or financial motive was at work behind the mutiny at Palamau. Its Chero rulers had created a Chero yeomanry to support them by giving lands to their followers. Hence there was a large number of small Chero *Jagirdars* in the district. Being impoverished, they mortgaged their small estates, and they wanted to escape from the inevitable consequences of their improvidence. Capt. E. T. Dalton, the Commissioner, held that many proprietors might have joined the insurgents with "a hope of summarily voiding such incumbrances."² Just as the Crusades were joined by many a debtor to escape from the clutches of money lenders of medieval Europe, so the Palamau Jagirdars might have been tempted to join the movement with a similar object. This throws a new light on the genesis of the movement and would show that it had a sordid aspect as distinct from the lofty national impulse of freeing the country from a foreign yoke.

(g) *The Palamau movement not an isolated phenomenon.*

The movement in Palamau, arising out of these distinctive local causes, was not altogether cut off from the general movement in Chotanagpur and Bihar. Predominantly local it was not an isolated phenomenon. Indeed, the movements in Hazaribagh, Ranchi, Palamau came to be linked up with those in Patna and Shahabad in a general cause. At the news of the mutiny of the Indian garrison at Dinapur and of the rising of Kunwar Singh two companies of the detachment of the 8th Native Infantry stationed at Hazaribagh at once mutinied (30th July, 1857). This was followed by the mutiny at Ranchi and Doranda. The Hazaribagh companies, advanced through

1. Bridge, *Final Report of the Survey and Settlement operations in the District of Palamau*, 1913-20. pp. 40, 42. Bradley—Birt, *Chotanagpur*, pp. 222-23.

2. Letter P. para 5.

Palamau on their way to join Babu Kunwar Singh's brother, Ummer Singh (Amar Singh) at Rohtas Ghur." Though they did not commit "serious depredations" they levied contributions in kind wherever they went and "their demeanour was such as to lead the ignorant inhabitants of Palamau to give very general credence to the report that the Government had been overturned.¹

Palamau became the asylum not only of the mutinous Hazaribagh Companies but also of many Ranchi mutineers after their defeat by Major English in Oct. 1857 and they made common cause with the Bogtah leaders Nilambar, and Pitambar, Chero Devi Baksh Rai and Paramanand of Kunda.^{1a}

Moreover, during the last days of the year 1857, when the mutineers' cause was on the verge of collapse, the Bogtah chieftains, Nilambar and Pitambar, tried to get armed reinforcements from Amar Singh, brother of Kunwar Singh. After the repulse of the insurgents at the Palamau fort (22nd January, 1858) by the Commissioner and Lt. Graham, "letters to Lilambar and Pitambar Sahai and Nucleut (Naklout) Manji were found with the baggage and amongst them communications from Ummer Singh promising immediate assistance from Koer Singh".² Though they failed to get it, they were joined by "a party from the Mirzapore hills" and were thus emboldened to pillage several villages in early January, 1858.³

After the suppression of the movement in Palamau, several mutinous sepoys proceeded to Shahabad district, which was still disturbed. But they were disheartened and disorganised and this was not considered to be a potential source of mischief.⁴ Further, the dispersion of the Shahabad mutineers was followed by their infiltration to Palamau under Amar Singh and Seadha Singh.

1. Letter P. para 10.11.

1a. Bridge, 42.

2. Buckland I. 120.

3. Letter P. para. 18.

4. Buckland. I 122.

II. Details of the Movement

(a) Oct., 1857-Feb., 1858

The first outbreak in Palamau took place within one month of the general meeting of the Cheros at the Shapur palace, which welded the Cheros and Kharwars together. The combined Chero-Kharwar-Bogtah forces attacked Chainpur, Shapur and Leslieganj in quick succession. The attack on Chainpur (21st Oct. 1857) directed against Thakurai Raghubar Dayal Singh and his cousin Thakurai Kishun Dayal Singh was repulsed. At Shapur they captured four guns of the Rani, attacked the *thana*, destroyed its records and shot a *thana barkandaz* dead. Leslieganj was plundered and its *thana* burnt. The *Tahsil* police and *abkarry* establishment fled from Leslieganj with some treasure. Thereupon the *Tahsil* Kutchery was also set on fire but this building and most of its records were saved from destruction by some local residents who extinguished the fire after the departure of the insurgents. Five other villages were also destroyed the same day.

After the restoration of order in Ranchi and Hazaribagh, Lieutenant Graham, who had been given temporary charge of the unoccupied Kunda subdivision as officiating Junior Asstt. Commissioner, and sent to Palamau with a small force, reached Chainpur on 7th November. The Bogtahs at once retreated to their villages in the hills of Sirguja. But Graham could neither take the offensive and pursue them nor withdraw on account of the paucity of his men and had to await reinforcements at Chainpur.¹

This emboldened the insurgents. By the end of November the situation became very critical, as the whole district of Palamau rose up in arms. Graham was besieged in the 'large' house of Raghubar Dayal, 'encircled by a strong wall' and containing three to four hundred Indian women and children. The rebels at first numbering 2000 swelled to 6000 and plundered the neighbourhood, but refrained from assaulting the Thaku-

1. Letter. Paras 13-16. Buckland I. 118. Bridge, 42-43.

rais' house either because its defences were strengthened by Graham or for other reasons.¹

On 27th November, 1857 the insurgents (Bogtaks) attacked Rajherwa, the station of the Coal Company. Messrs Grundy and Malzar, the employees of the Coal Company, resisted as long as possible but at last they had to escape with some difficulty. The factory was then plundered and destroyed. The mines suffered so serious an injury that these were not reopened for ten years.²

On 2nd December the *thanas* at Monka and Chutterpore were burnt and all their records destroyed.³

The need of relief was immediate. Instead of sending the Shekawati Battalion into Palamau, the Lt. Governor directed Major Cotter to proceed with two companies of H. M's. 13th Light Infantry from Sasaram and asked the Raja of Deo to supply soldiers to relieve Lt. Graham. At the same time Lt. Graham was instructed to fall back immediately on relief and to advance subsequently when possible.⁴

Major Cotter reached Shapur on 8th December and relieved Graham. Debi Baksh Rai, a principal leader, "suspected of being the real prompter of the rebellion" was then captured. The insurgents retreated but burnt the village of Monka (Manika) near Palamau fort and destroyed the house of Bikari Singh, "a Zemindar of some influence, who had lent great assistance to Lieutenant Graham."

For the paramount need of protecting the Grand Trunk Road, and clearing the *ghats*, Major Cotter was ordered to return to Sasaram *via* Sherghati and was accompanied by Lt. Graham awhile.

The departure of Major Cotter, however, did not efface the good effected by him. The bold capture of Devi Baksh Rai was at once followed by "the collapse of the rebellion" in Palamau,

1. Letter, Paras 16—Buckland I. 118-119. Kaye and Malleon. IV.

2. Letter P. Para 16; Buckland I. 119. Bridge.

3. Letter P. Para 16.

4. Letter P. Para 17; Buckland I. 119.

showing that the suspicion was 'well founded'. The insurgents lost heart and seemed to break up. Released from the fear of insurgents the "well-disposed chiefs," now openly joined the British. (1) Firstly, came the Deo Raja (Raja of Deo) with 60 matchlockmen and 100 *suwars*. The Lt. Governor now permitted Lt. Graham to leave Cotter and return to Chainpur. After making an advance he reached Kishenpur (22nd Dec.) On his approach the Bogtahs abandoned Paltan Ghat (Patan Ghat). The insurgents also retreated from Chainpur after being repulsed by Kishan Dial in an effort to attack the Ranka fort. (2) Secondly, the *Sarbarahkar* (Raja) of Sirguja sent a further reinforcement of 600 men. With these reinforcements Lt. Graham was able not only to hold his own but assume the offensive. After his arrival at Leslieganz (26th Dec.) "nothing more was heard of the insurgents and affairs appeared to have taken a favourable turn." A party sent by him surprised Parmanand, *ilakadar* of Kunda, with 4 principal associates and 75 followers. Thus "the rebels had lost some of their most daring leaders who had been taken and hanged and were in jail and the Cheroos for the most part abandoned their cause."

Nilambar Sahi was then busy gathering recruits and had plundered two villages. But having retreated to the jungles, he escaped attack or capture. Sirguja was invaded by the men of the contumacious Raja of Singruli (Singrauli), without any authority from his overlord the Raja of Rewah.¹

But this was not enough. Palamau fort still held out. The Commissioner of Chotanagpur, accompanied by 140 of Major Macdonnell's Madras Native Infantry (Sepoys), a small company of Ramgarh cavalry, and matchlockmen of Jagat Pal Singh of Pithoria, started from Ranchi for Palamau on 16th January. At Manka ten miles ahead (21st January), Lt. Graham joined him at night. On 22nd they attacked Palamau fort in 3 columns defeated the defending Cheros and Bogtahs, who fled leaving behind guns, ammunition, cattle, supplies and baggage,

1. Letter P. Paras 16-18. Buckland, 199-200. Kaye and Mallsen IV. 305.

and captured some leading insurgents.¹ The same day, the Bogtahs who had formed the bold design of checking the advance of the Commissioner at a small *ghat* were attacked and repulsed by Major Macdonnell's men, assisted by seven *jagirdars*.²

From Palamau the Commissioner moved on to Leslieganj where he remained till 8th February. His first task was to break up the Chero-Bogtah alliance. He issued a general circular to all the *jagirdars* to wait on him with their followers. This, we learn, had the "desired effect". Many Jagirdars (including Babu Bhavani Baksh Rai), who had previously held away, came with their quotas of armed retainers. True, many Chero *Jagirdars*, who now joined the British and were prepared to fight against the Bogtahs, had been only recently fighting against the British. But the Commissioner "considered it advisable to accept of their services without in any way pledging himself to pardon those who might eventually be convicted of crimes." This policy—the policy of divide and rule—"pretty well completed the secession of the Cheroos from the Bogtahs alliance."³

The suppression of the Bogtahs, now isolated from the Cheros, became comparatively an easy affair, covering only a fortnight (8th Feb.-23d February). With a force almost double of the Bogtahs, the Commissioner decided to force the passes into the Bogtah country. One division was sent under Kishun Dayal Singh to Shapur to advance against the Baghmara *ghat*. The Commissioner himself proceeded to Tungari *ghat* (10th February). The insurgents occupying this *ghat* were then plundering the neighbouring village of Harnam (Harnamanr). These were intercepted by a party of Graham's Ramgarh cavalry. Out of three captives two were hanged. Posted with information supplied by the third, the Commissioner entered the Bogtah country unopposed (13th February). The retreating Bogtahs fought till the last from behind masked breastworks of stone and ridge. The village of Chemu on the Koel river, and the

1. Buckland I. 120.

2. Letter P. paras 19. 20.

3. Letter P. para 21. Buckland, op. cit.

fortified residence of the Bogtah brothers and Saneya, another neighbouring Bogtah stronghold were destroyed. But much grain and cattle were captured.¹

Deserted by their followers, the two Bogtah chiefs became fugitives and eluded the vigilance of the search parties in the hills and jungles and along escaped capture. But neither threats nor promises had any effect in inducing the influential captives to disclose the hide-outs of their chiefs. While stern measures of reprisal were meted out to the inciters of the movement (e.g. destruction of villages, seizure of goods and cattle, confiscation of estates), the less guilty followers and the people were sought to be conciliated. The pacification of Palamau became a question of time.² Nilambar and Pitambar were ultimately captured and hanged after trial.

The estates of the leading rebels were confiscated. The greater part of them was granted as *jagir inamis* to the Zamindars of Chainpur, Ranka and Manika, and the rest was incorporated in the government estates.³

(b) *Feb.—Nov. 1858.*

A reference to the District Gazetteer⁴ Lt. Governor's Minute on the Mutinies in Bengal⁵ and Bradley Birt's Chotanagpur⁶ and the Final Report of the Survey and Settlement operations in the district of Palamau⁷ (1913-29) gives the impression that

1. Buckland. I. 120-21.

2. Letter, para 22. Buckland I. 121-22.

3. Bridge, p. 43. We get the following entry in the letter of the Commissioner to A.R. Young. No. 153 dated 9. 10. 58. "In the Konda Sub, D. the following estates in Pargannah Palamau have been confiscated.

Name of RebelsName of estatesGross rental.

Pitambar and Nilambar Chemo Saneya comprising

Bogtahs. of 12 Aslec and 5 or 6

Vil.

Rajah Singh.....Hameer5 dittoNot ascertained.

Of these the Jaghir of Chemo Saneya has been conferred on Rai Thakoorai Raghobar Dial Singh Bahadoor and the Hameer Jaghir lately belonging to Raja Sing on Koonwar Bhekharee Singh for services."

4. Palamau Dt. Gazetteer, P. 40.

5. Buckland I. 122.

6. P. 226.

7. By T. W. Bridge, P. 43.

the mutiny in Palamau was over by the beginning of 1858¹ with the escape of the Bogtah leaders Nilambar and Pitambar and their ultimate arrest and execution. But it is not so. There are a few letters in the Record Room of the Commissioner Chotanagpur, Ranchi, which show that the smouldering fire of the movement continued to be kindled by a favourable breeze.

That favourable factor was the gradual collapse of the movement of Kunwar Singh of Jagadishpur in Shahabad district after his death on 26th April, 1858. His brother Amar Singh succeeded him. Though "not one whit behind" his brother, "in energy and resolution," Amar Singh was hardly his "equal in military skill".² Thanks to the efforts of Lugard and his successor, Brigadier Douglas, the Shahabad rebels were gradually driven to bay and gradually dispersed. The plan of campaign began in May and June, was suspended during the rains till September and was renewed in October. The result was that the Shahabad fighters began to seek refuge in the Kaimur hills.³

The news of the "Shahabad break up" i.e. dispersion of the Shahabad mutineers spread and reached Palamau. In September, "Futteh Bahadoor Singh from Behar" contacted "the leaders of the disaffected Bogtahs" and returned to Jagadishpur "for the purpose of bringing reinforcements." Four hundred rebels were reported to have mustered strong at a place 3 cos S.E. of Suneya, evidently for some expedition.⁴

On getting this information from Lt. Graham, officiating Junior Assistant Commissioner-in-charge of Kunda sub-division at Palamau, the Commissioner wrote to the Lt. Governor of Bengal (30-9-58). "It is of primary importance to the safety of the Division that the disaffected Bogtahs in Palamau should receive no further reinforcements from (Behar ?) on the dispersion of the rebel force now collected in Shahabad. The intelligence received shows that the Bogtahs are expecting such assistance

1. In Kaye and Malleeson's *History of the Indian Mutiny*, Vol. IV. (p. 305) the rebellion in Palamau is said to have collapsed in November 1857.

2. Ibid. 336.

3. Ibid. 336-45.

4. Lt. Graham to Commissioner dated Leslicganj 23-9-58.

and if operations against them are not soon (taken) the rebels who are, it appears, in constant communication with the Bogtaks will be induced to regard Palamau as safe and pleasant retreat. The Commissioner realised that he must do the best he could with the troops at his disposal and suggested certain necessary troop dispositions for the approval of the Lt. Governor, viz.,

- (a) Captain Dale's volunteers in Palamau to be employed.
- (b) Lt. Reeves to be left with a contingent of Cole and Santal levy.
- (c) Officers of the detachment of the Ramgarh Battalion (on way back from Sambalpur) to be furnished.¹

As the *Jagirdar* of Chichari was reported to be hostile, the Commissioner instructed Capt. Davies, Principal Assistant Commissioner in charge of Lohardaga Division to select and send an adequate force from the detachment of the Ramgarh Battalion (on its arrival from Sambalpur) and a part of the new Cole and Santal levy to reinforce Lt. Graham.²

Early in November, 1858, troops were sent from Dorandah (Ranchi) to Palamau to reinforce Graham, including Sikh volunteers, Ramgarh Light Infantry, Ramgarh Light Cavalry, Cole and Santal Levy and a detachment of the Sambalpur contingent of the Ramgarh battalion. About this time 250-300 rebel sepoys (from Shahbad) crossed the Son. Of this an advance body of one hundred had reached Majhiaon and were expected to attack Garhwa,³ a rich town, and the rest were coming up. Encouraged by this, a body of 500 insurgent Bogtaks, after plundering in different directions appeared at Ranka

1. From the Commissioner to A. R. Young, Secretary to the Govt. of Bengal Fort William. Camp Chybassa. No. 1441 dated 30. 9. 58.

2. Graham to Commissioner No. 80. of 6. 9. 58. and Commissioner to A. R. Young, Secretary to the Govt. of Bengal, Camp Chybassa No. 147. Dated 2. 10. 58. It gives military arrangements for Ranchi, Singhbhum also.

3. Babu Ranjit Singh, son of Agund Singh, was considered worthy of receiving a certificate at the Ranchi Darbar of January 1877 for being a respectable Chero Jagirdar.

It would thus appear that the Bogtaks and their Shahabad accomplices wanted to plunder the rich Chero town of Garhwa, as the Cheros had deserted the Bogtaks.

thana. But it was guarded and they did not attack it and returned south to their own hills at the news of the advance of Doranda troops. Without being alarmed, Graham advanced to Chainpur, where the greater portion of his supplies were stored, to check the march of the mutineers on Garhwa and to teach them that Palamau was "not the safe retreat they expected to find it."¹

The two parties of mutineers, however, did not advance to Garhwa but turned south towards Saneya in the Bogtah country in Bargarh. They did not, however, attack Bargarh thana (as feared by Lt. Graham). They gave out that they were an advance guard of a part of 400 men coming through Sirguja by the Mekeve *ghat*. The information that 500 sepoys in the direction of Bijugarh "were headed by a force from the Mirzapore side" and infiltrating into Sirguja lacked confirmation. While a body of 200-300 mutineers joined the Bogtachs at Saneya another body collected at the old Palamau fort. Captain Davies and Captain Dale reached Lesliegunj on 9th November, 1858. Lt. Graham joined them the same day.

The advance of Capt. Davies struck terror among the insurgents. Many insurgents, who "willingly or unwillingly had joined the Bogtachs," returned to their villages. The Bhaya of Chechari professed submission.

The Commissioner directed Captain Davies to communicate all important matters direct to Government *via* Sherghati and all matters connected with the movements of the mutineers to Brigadier Douglas and Lt. Comr (? Baker) of Patna.²

At Lesliegunj the combined British forces were divided for launching a 'preconcerted' two-pronged pincer movement. While Captain Davies advanced towards Sunya (Saneya)

1. Commissioner to A. R. Young Esqr., Secretary to the Govt. of Bengal, Fort William, Camp Chybassa, No. 164 dated 8. 11. 54. Manjhiaon, on the left bank of the Koel river and n. w. of Untari Road Rly. station and 16 miles south of the Sone river.

2. From Commissioner to A. R. Young, Camp Chybassa, No. 168 dated 15.11.58.

Bargarh on Sirguja border four miles south of Bhandaria P. S. under Ranka. It lies in Barkol Tappa on the s.w. boundary of Palamau along the right bank of the Kanhar river.

near Chechari, Lt. Graham made a detour southwards via Ramkundah. The small guard and armed police of the Burgur thana, apprehending attack by a large body of insurgents, made a planned strategic retreat across the river Kunhar into Sirguja (18th November, 1858). At once the *thana* building was demolished by a section of the Bogtaks led by Bhoja and Bharat, who also started cutting the crops. The guard escaping to Sirguja across the Kunhar procured two Kols as guides to conduct them "by a narrow path through a long great jungle right on the Bhogtah marauders." They were surprised and suffered heavy casualties, with 16 killed, 30 wounded, and 3 prisoners. The two leaders were, however, mounted and taken off, only three on the Government side were wounded.¹

On 24th November, 1858 a part of rebels under Umee Singh (Amar Singh) encamped at Kurondha (Koranda). Though the party was not very large, the Commissioner suggested to the Government that reinforcements in the shape of two European companies be sent to Ranchi, either for arresting the advance of the rebels towards Chotanagpur or support Capt. Davies, if necessary, and that the Madras infantry at Ranchi might then be sent to Singhbhum.²

Up to 30th November, 1858, 1100 rebels actually entered Palamau under Sedhuo Sg (Seadha Singh). Another leader was probably Ram Bahadoor Singh of Sunya (Saneya) the residence of the insurgent Bogtaks. 600 out of the above number had sepoys' muskets. Another body of 900 was reported to be converging on Saneya.

In compliance with Lt. Graham's request to the authorities in Bihar, a portion of Brigadier Douglas's force was expected to reinforce Graham at Chainpur in Palamau, where his position was "defensible." Captain Davies at Chechari acted judi-

1. The Commissioner to A. R. Young, Camp Chybassa. No. 182 dated 2. 12. 58. Subsequently 20 more bodies of insurgents were found on the ground. The Bargarh guard consisted of about 5 men together with a Kol and Santal Levy and gallantly defended the thana in July 1858 also. Ramkundah about 12 miles s.e. of Ranka and 14 miles s.w. of Chainpur.

2. Commissioner to A. R. Young, Camp Chybassa. No. 184 Dated 3. 12. 58. and Graham to Commissioner (26. 12. 58).

ciously and correctly on first getting information of the advance of the Shahbad mutineers.

The strategy of the British was this. The rebels could not long remain in Maya hills without getting supplies and if they found the road to Chotanagpur open, they would certainly advance towards it. Captain Davies was holding a very strategic position to check them. He must not attempt to join Lt. Graham. The small Palamau force should, however, be concentrated and interposed to block the escape of the mutineers from Saneya towards Chotanagpur. Hence the Commissioner urged on the Government the expediency of sending troops not only to Palamau but to Chotanagpur as well, and suggested that two companies of H. M. 29th foot expected at Hazaribagh was at once ordered to Ranchi, and another company or two sent to Hazaribagh in their place.¹

From 11th November to 1st December, 1858, Capt. Davies acted judiciously in halting at Akoser (Aksi) village thereby preventing the mutineers from getting supplies therefrom. It also occupied "an excellent position" for his force in co-operation with that of the Rai of Sirguja "to prevent the rebels from proceeding of retreating in southerly or easternly direction.

An army nearly 500 strong (H. Th. 29th Ry-300; Do. 37th -70; 3rd Regular Punjab Cavalry-116) joined Lt. Graham at Chainpur, on 13th November, they took post at Mayapore one march only from the rebel's position. Lt. Graham added to the force 170 sepoy of the Ramgarh Battalion and Kol and Santal Levy.²

(i) *Leaders of the movement.*

The persons who took a leading part in the movement may

1. Commissioner to A. R. Young, Camp Chybassa, No. 187 dated 8. 12. 58, Capt Davies to Commissioner (29. 11. 58) and Lt. Graham to Commissioner (1. 12. 58).

2. Commissioner to A. R. Young, Camp Chybassa. No. 192. Dated 20. 12. 58. Capt. Davies to Commissioner No. 127. and 128 of 3rd and 7th Dec.

Akoser is to be identified with Aksi or Anksi, on the road to Barwe. It is about 8 miles n.w. of Netarhat.

be broadly classified into two groups. (a) Chero (b) Kharwars (including Bogtahs).

(a) *Chero Leaders.*

(i) Babu Bhavani Baksh Rai of Bistrampur belonged to the eldest of the three collateral branches of the Chero reigning family. As such he was described by the Lt. Governor as "the most powerful and influential" of all *jagirdars* and "the head of the Chero family." He arrived at Shahpur on 26th September, 1857. It was in his name that the Ranees of the late Raja Churaman Rai summoned a meeting of all the Cheros. It was said that the object of the meeting was to elect a Chero Raja. But Bhavani Baksh denied this, asserting that it was "to concoct measures for the safety of the district," as ordered by the Commissioner along with other *Jagirdars*. He left Shahpur on receipt of a *parwana* from Mr. T. Campbell attached to Col. Tircher's column or after learning of the recovery of Ranchi. Commissioner Dalton "could find no proof of his having been mixed up in the subsequent proceedings of the insurgents."¹

However, he avoided coming to the British on "various pretexts," and gave rise to "a strong opinion that he was disaffected and meant mischief." He was reported to be busy collecting a contingent (including many Ramgarh Mutineers to oppose the advance of the Commissioner in January, 1858. But when the Commissioner arrived at Lesliegunj, and issued a circular to all *Jagirdars* to attend with their retainers, Bhavani Baksh came forward on 3rd February, 1858 with many other *Jagirdars*, and "removed a principal obstacle" to "the onward movement of the British".²

The Commissioner considered it "necessary" to remove him for some time and brought him to Ranchi. No report of a further enquiry into the Shapur affair came from Lt. Graham. The Commissioner believed that "no overt act of treason" would be proved against him but held that "he must not be allowed to

1. Letter P. para 13. Buckland I. 120.

2. Ibid. para 21. Buckland I. 120.

escape the consequences of his not having rendered such assistance to Lieutenant Graham as he was bound to do."¹

(ii) Babu Ram Baksh Rai of Chukla with 370 villages in Deogan belonged to the second collateral branch of the Chero reigning family. Both he and his son Har (or Hari) Baksh Rai appeared to the Commissioner to have "behaved well", but there were two serious charges against him, viz., (a) he appeared "to have somewhat held back at one time and did not give Lieutenant Graham timely (or such) assistance as from the extent of his jageer was expected from him." (b) he and some of his retainers were accused of "complicity in the attack" on the Rajhara coal factory. But the Commissioner could not fasten his guilt in the absence of the report of the enquiry.²

(iii) While the first two representatives were lukewarm in their support of the British, the third, Babu Devi Baksh Rai of Luckna who belonged to the youngest collateral branch of the Chero reigning family appears to have been the principal hero among the Cheros. He was accused of having sided with the Bogtaks. The case was under investigation till 21.6.58 (the date of the Commissioner's letter). The latter thought he did not actively assist the insurgents, but "whether he countenanced or not the Bogtaks wished to confer the Raj upon him." Later on he "did all he could to display his zeal", on the side of the British.³

(iv) The Bhaya Bhagwan Deo of Untari was an "extensive Jagheerdar with an estate of 84 villages besides hamlets rent-free." He waited upon the Commissioner on his arrival and supplied a body of matchlockmen who did good service under his *karpardaz* Deonath Singh in the engagement of 22nd January, 1858. For this the Commissioner held that he deserved thanks of the Government. But before the Commissioner's arrival,

1. Ibid. para 23. His son Babu Lachmi Baksh Rai was considered worthy of receiving a certificate at the Ranchi Darbar (January, 1877) for giving liberally during the famine.

2. Para 25.

3. Para 24.

he gave little help to Lieutenant Graham and the Commissioner regretted his inability to make a more favourable reference to him.¹

These were the "leading men of Palamau," whose conduct was regarded by the Commissioner as "not on the whole satisfactory."

(b) *The Kharwar and Bogtah leaders*

(i-ii) The leading spirits among the Kharwars were the Bogtah Nilambar and Pitambar, enjoying the jagirs of Chemu and Saneya in S. W. Palamau. They became with Parmanand of Kunda and the Chero Devi Baksh Rai the most influential leaders.²

(iii) Parmanand, the raja or *ilakadar* of Kunda, a headman and the "most influential leader" of the Kharwars.³

(iv-vi) Subsequently about November, 1858, the Bogtachs were led by Bhoja and Bharat⁴ and about December, 1858, by Ram Bahadoor Singh of Saneya.

(vii) It is not clear from the letter of the Commissioner (dated 21. 6. 58) whether the Raja of Chechari bazar, a headman of the Kharwar, was also a leader, but he was mentioned along with the Raja of Kunda.⁵ But Lt. Graham in his letter to "the Commissioner (dated 6. 9. 58) referred to "the continued disaffection of the Bhaiya Koomar Sahai (i.e. Sahi) Jagirdar of Chichari", owning 81 villages and imputed "an act of treason" to him. Subsequently, on the approach of Capt. Davies at Leslieganj in Nov. 1858, he avowed that his contingent was ready

1. Ibid. para 26.

2. Letter P. para 28. Letter No. 153, dated 9. 10. 58.

3. Letter P. para 6. Buckland I.

Kunda was an old fortress of the Cheros in Palamau. Daud Khan, the general of Aurangzeb had captured it and granted it in Jagir to another family. On the eve of the mutiny it was under the management of the Court of Wards. Bridge 48.

4. Letter no. 182. dated 2.12. 58.

5. Letter P. para 6.

and waiting for orders.¹

(c) *Other associates*

Associated with these was Nucleut (Naklaut) Manjhi.²

Another leader in the disturbances was Raja Singh, who was executed. His Jagir in Hamir consisting of 5 villages paying an annual rent of about Rs. 30 to the Government, was confiscated. As it was situated near Manka, it was conferred as Jagir on Kunwar Bhikhari Singh of Manka.³

From the Lt. Governor's Minute we learn that among the "leading insurgents" captured in January, 1858 were Tikait Unaras Singh and his diwan Shaik Bikari. They were convicted of being concerned in the rebellion and executed.⁴

(ii) *Loyal Jagirdars and supporters of the British.*

Those *Jagirdars* who supported the Government have been classified by the Commissioner into two catagories.

(a) *'Names of a few who from first to last did their duty as vessels of the government'*

(i-ii) Among the loyal *Jagirdars* who wholeheartedly supported the British government the first place goes to the Rajput Thakurai Raghubar Dayal Singh of Hurbhonga Chainpur, and his cousin, Thakurai Kishun Dayal Singh of Ranka. The Commissioner conveyed the thanks of the Government to them for their services in the skirmish of January 22, 1858. These two (along with the latter's *Karpardaz*, Ram Pratap Singh) have been specially mentioned in Lieutenant Graham's despatches. Hence, on the recommendation of the Commissioner, the

1. Letter no. 147 dated 2.10.58 and no. 168 dated 15.11.58. Bhaiya Meghraj Sahi, son of Bhaiya Kumar Sahi, was considered worthy of receiving a certificate at the Ranchi Darbar (Jan. 1877.) being a Kharwar chief of some influence among his people.

2. Buckland I. Manjhi was a subdivision of the Kharwar tribe.

3. Letter P. para 31. Letter no. 153 dated 9.10.58. Hamir is about 4 miles n. w. of Mahuadanr in the extreme south of the district.

4. Buckland I. 120.

5. Letter P. para 28, 20. Buckland I. 122. Raghubar was rewarded with an *inami* jagir grant of 26 villages. See Gazetteer. 178.

first two were given the title of Rai Bahadur along with suitable *Khilats* including, "good double barrelled English made rifles," as both of them were "keen sportsmen". The Commissioner also recommended the conferment, on Raghubar Dayal Singh, the confiscated jagir of Chemu Suneya of Nilambar and Pitambar, on the same quit rent, as in the past, but subject to more stringent conditions in regard to keeping the *ghauts* clear and protecting travellers passing through." Raghubar Dayal efficiently managed the estate. "The Lt. Governor's Minute speaks of "the essential services rendered by these two Thakurais. Raghubar Dayal's son Thakurai Jagannath Dayal Singh and Thakurai Janki Singh son of Thakurai Deonath Singh were considered worthy of receiving certificate at the Ranchi Darbar, (January, 1877), the former for his father's services during the Mutiny and also his own liberal contribution towards the cause of education and the latter for just succeeding to the estate of Kishun Dayal Singh.¹

(iii) The third in the list of loyal *jagirdars* was Baboo Sewcharan Rai (Babu Sheocharan Rai), the Chero *Jagirdar* of Nowagarh of 59 villages. He "protected the Government treasures, records and the Indian officials (tahseel police and artillery or abkarry establishment) who fled from Lesliengunge", when it was attacked by the insurgents. He also "maintained good order in his own villages and gave every required assistance" to Lieutenant Graham and the Commissioner. So the Commissioner recommended the conferment of a *Khilat* and an addition to his *jagir* (which would augment his annual income by Rs. 100 or 150 or 200) from "forfeited, lapsed or khalsa lands that might eventually be formed."²

(iv) The fourth in the list was Kooar Bickaree Singh (Kunwar Bheekharee or Bhikari Singh) son of Kunwar Baijonath Singh, of Monika (Monka). The Commissioner writes of him as "a petty jagirdar but a truly loyal and deserving subject. He is one of the Cheros who from first to last stood boldly aloof from

1. Register.

2. Letter P. para 29.

all conspiracy against Government and who exerted himself in every way to prevent the spread of disorder and disaffection. He was one of the first to join Lieutenant Graham and the information he gave, was of great service to that officer. In consequence of this his house at Manka was attacked and burnt and his family only saved from slaughter by the good offices of some friendly Coles (Kols) who protected them." The Commissioner thanked him for his services in the skirmish of 22nd January, 1858, and recommended that all the five villages of the confiscated jagir of the insurgent Raja Singh (paying an annual rent of Rs. 30 to the Government) or some of them or some share in them as the government might decide, be conferred in *jagir* on Bhikari, together with a *Khilat* in recognition of his loyal services.¹

The Lt. Governor "specially recommended" all these five to the Supreme Government for "rewards according to their merits."²

(b) *Names of Jagirdars who received thanks of the Government.*

The Commissioner conveyed the thanks of the Government to the following *Jagirdars*, besides the two Thakurais and Kunwar Bhikhari Singh of Manka, for their services in the skirmish of 22nd January, 1858.³

(i) Baboo Devie Buksh Singh of Namodaug (Nowadag).⁴

(ii) Deonath Singh *Karpardauz* of Bhuya (Bhaiya) of Oontari (Untari)

(iii) Bhagwan Deo of Oontari (Untari).

(iv) Deonarain Singh (son of Balwant Singh) of Bamimdeah (Bahemendeesh) or Bahmundi.⁵

1. Ibid, paras 30—31. He was considered worthy of receiving a certificate in the Ranchi Darbar of January, 1877 for his services in the Mutiny.

2. Buckland I. 123.

3. Babu Durga Baksh Singh, son of Babu Ramprasad Singh, zamindar of Namoodag was considered worthy of receiving a certificate at the Ranchi Darbar (January 1877) for being a highly respected Jagirdar.

4. Not very loyal. Letter P. para 26.

He was the son of Bhaiya Tej Singh and was considered worthy of receiving a certificate at the Ranchi Darbar (January 1877) being the proprietor of one of the largest estates in Palamau and behaving very liberally during the famine.

5. Ibid. Para 20. He was considered worthy of receiving certificate at the Ranchi Darbar (Jan. 1877) for being a respected landlord and experienced agriculturist, a jagirdar and also farmer of a large number of Govt. Villages

Further the Commissioner recommended the names of the following jagirdars as deserving the thanks of the Government "for their zealous co-operation with the authorities to restore order" in Palamau, besides (i), (ii), and (iv) of this preceeding list.

(i) Kooar (Kunwar) Sewcharan Singh of Ladi (son of Kunwar Dulloo Singh)

(ii) Akouri Gauri Charan Ram Canongo of Chundegeer, Sutgowan

(iii) Surrobject (Mowar Sarabjit) Singh of Manatoo.¹

It is rather strange that no mention is made in this letter-regarding the services of the Raja of Deo and Jagat Pal Singh of Pithoria (near Ranchi) who helped the British by supplying soldiers. From the Lt. Governor's Minute however, we learn that Jagat Pal Singh supplied a body of matchlockmen to Commissioner Dalton during his advance to Palamau in January, 1858 and that on other occasions too, "he displayed very remarkable loyalty and attachment to the Government" and that he was "rewarded with a title, a *Khilat* and pension."² His descendant, Parganait Janak Singh Zaminadar of Pithori was considered worthy of receiving certificates at the Ranchi Darbar in 1877 for loyalty of his family during the Mutiny and services at Keonpur.³

IV. Chronology.

| | |
|-----------------|--|
| 1857 | |
| 30th July | Mutiny of 8th Native Infantry at Hazaribagh. |
| 2nd Aug. | Mutiny at Ranchi. |
| 5th Aug. | Mutiny at Purulia. |

and for supporting educational movement and doing good service in the famine. (Register)

1. Ibid. Para 32 Kumar Sheocharan Singh and Mowar Deojit Singh son of Mowar Sarabjit were considered worthy of receiving a certificate at the Ranchi Darbar (January 1877) the former for being an influential and respected Jagirdar.

2. Buckland I. 120.

3. Register of Rent free Grants in Circular memo no. 25 dated 8th Jan, 1863.

- 26th Sept.meeting of Cheros at Shahpur. General rising of Cheros and Kharwars.
- 21st Oct..(i) 500 Insurgents attack Chainpur but repulsed.
(ii) Insurgents attack Shahpur.
(iii) Advance to Leslieganj.
- 7th November ...Graham reaches Chainpur.
- 27th November ... (i) Rajharwa Coal station destroyed by Bogtahs.
(ii) Major Cotter starts from Sasaram.
- c. end of November. (i) Situation very critical.
(ii) Major Cotter crosses the Son near Akbarpur (30th Nov.)
- 2nd December.....Burning of Monka and Chutterpore thana.
- 8th December. ...Arrival of Major Cotter at Shahpur to relieve Graham.
- 22nd December ...Graham reaches Kishenpur.
- 26th December ...Graham arrives at Leslieganj.
- 1858
- 12th JanuaryInsurgents plunder some villages.
- 16th JanuaryCommissioner starts from Ranchi for Palamau.
- 21st JanuaryHe reaches Monka and is joined by Graham.
- 22nd January(i) Bogtahs defeated by Madras army.
(ii) Commissioner and Graham attack Palamau fort.
- 3rd FebBhowany Baksh Rai attends on the Commissioner.
- 8th FebCommissioner remains at Leslieganj till 8th Feb.
- 10th Feb Commissioner at Tungari ghat.
- 13th FebCommissioner reaches Chemu in Bogtah Country. He crosses the Koel and reaches Suneya.
- 23rd Feb Commissioner leaves the Bogtah country.
- 26th AprilDeath of Kunwar Singh of Jagdishpur. Amar Singh succeeds him.

bances in that district specially noticing those who displayed conspicuous loyalty to the British Government and zealously co-operated with the authorities in restoring order.

2nd. It is necessary to introduce these names with a brief account of the events that led to the insurrection (provocation) in Palamau.^{1]}

3rd. The population of that district is chiefly composed of two tribes—the Cheroos and the Khyroors.^{1a} The latter are the most numerous.² They are also the Coles³ and⁴ other savages who took no part in the disturbances⁵ (and a few) Brahmins, Rajpoots and other castes of Hindoos who were opposed to the insurgents and [Korewahs⁶ a rude hill tribe having kindred with the Cole, some of whom assisted the Bogtahs.]

4th. The Cheroos are spurious kind⁷ of Rajpoots. It is said they originally came from Kemaon⁸ [and they bear a thread as the descendants of Channmora a son of Brahmins.] Some centuries ago a leader of this tribe⁹ [made war on and drove into Sirgooja the Rexel Rajpoot¹⁰ Rajah of Palamau] and got himself acknowledged Rajah of that country.¹¹ The last Rajah [Chooramund Rae] who died¹¹ childless was a descendant of this Chief. [Chooramund Rae left a widow who still survives and there are three collateral branches of the family, the elder re-

1. in two copies.

1a. Cheros and Kharwars. The Lt. Governor's Minute begins from para 3 of this letter. See Buckland, *Bengal under the Lt. Governors*. I. 117.

2. According to the Palamau Dt. Gazetteer (pp. 46, 55, 57) the Bhuiyas form the largest caste, the Kharwars come next.

3. Kols.

4. This portion is torn in the letter; 'other savages' in Buckland. I. 117.

5. Add 'and a few.' Ibid.

6. The Korwas are found in Untari, but they are most numerous in the Ranka thana on the borders of Sirguja. According to Forbes they resemble the African Negro more than the Munda,—thickly set, short statured, deep chested and broad shouldered and very active, "with round faces, very black skins, large mouths, very thick lips, and broad flat noses." Being very poor cultivators and growing none but the hardest of crops, they are keen hunters, and live upon wild herbs and roots in the forest. They are marvellously truthful. *Palamau Dt. Gazetteer*, 62-3.

7. 'Family' in the Lt. Governor's Minute. Buckland, *Op. cit.*

8. Kumaon.

9. The Raksel Rajputs are said to have built the ancient fort of Tamolgarh on the spur of a hill north of Chhechhari.

10. His descendants continued long to hold the chiefship. Buckland I. 118.

11. Within the last few years. Ibid.

presented by Baboo Bow anny Bux Rae of Bisrampore¹ the holder (Jageerdar) of 143 villages, the next by Baboo Ram Bux Rae of Chukla² who holds 370 villages in Deogun, the third by Baboo Devie Bux Rae of Luckna.^{3]}

[5th. The rulers being Cheroos they considered it necessary to create a Cheroo Yeomanry to support them and hence it is that we have in Palamau a very considerable number of petty Cheroo Jagheerdars. They seem to have been an improvident race of landholders as the greater portion of their small estates are mortgaged and it is possible that a hope of summarily voiding such incumbrances was an incentive to many a proprietor to join the insurgents.^{4]}

6th. The Khyrwars are numerous in Palamau and elsewhere

1. Bisrampore, 10½ miles n.e. of Garhwa, and 5 miles from Garhwa Road Station. The founder of the Babuan family, whose *garh* or residence is located here, and which claim descent from the Maharajas of Palamau, was Nirpat Rai, a brother of Jai Kishun Rai, holding sway over Palamau about 1750. Gajraj Rai, son of Nirpat Rai, helped the British in capturing the Palamau fort in 1772. Bhavani Baksh Rai helped the British in suppressing the Kol rebellion in 1832. *Palamau Dt. Gazetteer*. 177.

2. Chakla is a village within Chandwa P. S. (*Gazetteer*, 202). About 1921 the estate was managed as an Encumbered one consisting of 12 villages on behalf of the descendants of the old Tori Rajas, situated in the S. e. of Palamau district, and incorporated with it, in 1891. It remained on the revenue rent-roll of Ranchi. *Final Report of the Survey and Settlement operations in the District of Palamau* 1913-20 by T. W. Bridge, I.C.S., Settlement officer, Chotanagpore, 1921.

Deogan, once a prosperous town with 52 streets and 53 bazars, is now only a village in the n.e. of Palamau district. Remains of an old Chero fort exist here. Once upon a time one Bharat Rai held Chakla Deogan with 353 villages as a maintenance grant from the Maharaja of Palamau. It was resumed by the Maharaja when he was killed by a Sarwar chieftain without leaving a male heir and given to Sugand Rai, a nephew of Jai Kishun Rai, Maharaja of Palamau (c. 1750), together with his own 74 villages. (*Gazetteer*, 180) This would imply a total of 427 villages. For origin of Deogan estate *Ibid*, ch. 2. The *garh* or house of the proprietor of Deogan estate is Jaipur, a village 6 miles due east of Patna P. S. (*Ibid*. 183)

There is a village named Nawa, 20 miles north of Daltonganj on Hazaribagh road. Twelve miles south east of it is the village of Nawa Jaipur where is the *garh* of proprietors of Deogan estate, the descendants of the Maharaja of Palamau (*Ibid*. 186).

3. Lakhna is a village within Garhwa P. S. *Gazetteer*. 198.

4. The following sentence of the Lt. Governor's Minute misses the significance of the original: 'The Cheroes, having thus established themselves, their position by conferring *jagirs* on their followers, and numbers of these *jagirdars*, with impoverished and deeply mortgaged estates still exist. Buckland. I. 118.

in Chota Nagpore.¹ They are said to have migrated from the hills west of Rohtas. [There is a place there called Kyra and the Rajah of Surki is a Khywar. In this Division the Rajah of Koon-dah and the Chechari bazar² are the head men of the Khyrwars.]

7th. They are subdivided into various classes ("Goshtes") viz. (1) The Bogtah³ [2 Manji-3 Bisit-4 Chowdry etc. etc. They are not I believe considered as included amongst the 4 great Hindoo families but they speak no language except Hindi.]

[8th. There are few Jagheerdaries in possession of the Khyrwars. One was created by our Government and conferred on the head of the Bogtah clan, the Bogtahs Pitamber and Nilamber.] This clan occupy [a line of villages situated on a plateau or rather a steppe] between the lowlands of Palamau from which they are further separated by a ridge of hills and the high table lands of Sirgooja. [The villages are unapproachable from the low lands except by ghauts or hill passes easily defended and the hills between them and Sirgooja and the Sirgoojah uplands secure to these inhabitants places of] almost inaccessible fastnesses.

[9th. Thus situated the Bogtahs] were of old notorious as free booters [to whom the arm of the law could with difficulty reach. Their old chief, [the father of Nilambar and Pitamber lived and] died an out-law. The policy that gave to the sons the villages occupied by the clan in Jagheer at a small quit rent was however in a great measure successful in repressing their marauding propensities [till the unfortunate events of the last year incited them to break out anew.]

10th. It unluckily happend that Pitamber Bogtah was at Ranchi [when the Ramghur force mutinied and the officers abandoned the station.] He very possibly went home thinking he had

1. "Scattered not only over Palamau but over the whole of Chotanagpore." Ibid.

2. Chhechhari Tappa in the extreme south of Palamau district, contains a number of villages, the property of the Bhaiya Sahib of Chhechhari. Gazetteer, 179.

3. "The principal are the Bogtahs, with whom alone we are now concerned" in Lt. Governor's Minute. Buckland. op. cit. In para 7 we learn that besides the Bogtah, the principal clan of the Kharwars these were other subdivisions—the Manjhi, the Bisit, the Choudhry and others and that they spoke no language except Hindi.

seen the end of British rule. At the same time the two companies of the 8th¹ Regiment [(there) that mutinied at Hazaribagh^{1a} marched through Palamau on their way to join Babu Kooer Singh's brother, Ummer Singh [at Rohtas Ghur.]

[11th. They did not commit any very serious depredations but they exacted contribution in supplies wherever they went and their demeanour was such as to lead the ignorant inhabitants of Palamau to give very general credence to the report that the Government had been overturned.]

[12th. Then it was that the Bogtachs armed and assembled and commenced plundering,] their raids being in the first instance directed against the villages and properties of Takoorai Raghober Dial Singh² between whom and the leading Bogtachs, there had long been a feud. [Unaided they would not perhaps have been able to cope with the Rajpoot Jageerdars who were opposed to them but the disturbances began now to assume a more political aspect and expanded into an incipient insurrection.]

[13th. The Ranee (illegible) of the Rajah Chooraman Rae resides at Shahpore³ in Palamau. On the 26th of September Baboo Bowany Bux Rae arrived at Shapore and in his own name all the Ranees appear to have summoned all the Cheroos to a meeting there, it is said that the object was to elect a Cheroo Rajah, but the Baboo declares it was to concoct measures for the safety of the District in consequence of his having in common with other Jagheerdars received orders from me to do so. The Baboo himself left Shahpore after receiving a perwannah from Mr. T. Campbell attached to Col. Tircher's column or after hearing of the re-occupation of Ranchi and I could find no proof of his having been mixed up in the subsequent proceedings of the

1. i.e. '8th Native Infantry' *Ibid.* The mutiny started in Hazaribagh.

1a. It must be admitted that besides the impression created by the stories of the mutineers at Hazaribagh and Ranchi and by the temporary expulsion of government officials from Ranchi, another significant factor was at work behind the mutiny at Palamau, i.e. "the absence of any of the appearances of administration".

2. "The loyal Rajput jagirdar." Buckland *op. cit.*

3. Shahpur village is situated on the west bank of the Koil, opposite Daltonganj. At the end of the 18th century, Gopal Rai, the Raja of Palamau, built a palace here. Gazetteer, 180.

insurgents, but whatever took place of the meeting of Cheroos at Shahpore, it is a fact that it was followed by a general rising both of Cheroos and of Khyrwars] and combining with the Bogtaks [a very large force]¹ on the 21st October attacked² the town of Chynpore³ belonging to Takoorai Raggober Dial Singh and where he resides, [but the Takoorai had made good preparations to oppose them, and after a fight of some hour's duration] the insurgents were repulsed [with loss.]

[14th. I am convinced that at this time the Bogtaks were not so fascinated with the idea of having a Cheroo dynasty over them as led to join the Cheroos⁴ for the sake of gratifying their old grudge against the Takoorai, but it is quite clear that the Cheroos and other considered the destruction of the Takoorai and his party as essential to the success of their undertaking, because he was devoted to the interest of the British Government; he felt confident that Government would not be subverted and he opposed himself in every way to the movement in favour of the Cheroos.

15th. The Takoorais cousin Takoorai Kishon Dial Singh.

1. 500 Bogtaks, Buckland. *op. cit.*

2. They successively attacked Chainpur, Shahpur and Leslieganj. Buckland. I 118.

3. Chainpur, one of the largest villages of Palamau, 2 miles w.s.w. of Daltonganj, is the seat of the historic family of the Thakurais (Diwans of the Chero kings). Raja Dohsasan Singh, belonging to the Surwar sect of the Chandrabansi Rajputs left his ancestral home at Surpur (300 miles s.w. of Delhi) and joined Mughal imperial service. His son Sarandhar Singh, migrated to Shahabad. He was succeeded by Makhain Singh, *alias* Deo Sahi, who sheltered the Chero King Bhagwat Rai, then fleeing before the Emperor's forces. Thakurai Puran Mal, son of Deo Sahi, accompanied Bhagwat Rai to Palamau and helped him in its conquest in return for the condition that the Thakurais would be the *Sarbarahkars* of Palamau, i.e. having authority to manage the country and power to select the rajas from the family of Bhagwat Rai. Their influence was also recognised by the Mughal Emperors and several jagirs were granted by Emperors Aurangzeb, Muhammad Shah and Farrukh Siyar. At the time of the British conquest the Thakurais lost the position of Diwans and virtual Kingmakers. But they loyally supported the British government in 1802 (Sircuja campaign), 1832 (Kol rebellion) and 1857 (the Mutiny). Gazetteer, 177-78.

4. For the Lt. Governor's explanation of the motives of the Chero rising ("Many of the Cheros *Jagirdars* were induced to join them, partly on the promise made of placing a Chero chief on the throne, partly, no doubt, in the hope of retrieving their now impoverished and decayed fortunes." vide. Buckland. *op. cit.*

5. The rising was against their landlords. Bridge. *op. cit.*

was equally loyal, equally the object of attack and as earnest and vigorously opposed the insurgents.

16th. After their repulse at Chainpore the insurgents proceeded to Shahpore and took possession of four old worn guns belonging to the Ranee. They at the same time broke into the Thana destroyed all the records and when they encamped for the night on the opposite side of the river it is correctly reported that they sacrificed to the guns a Government Thana Berkundage whom they had made a prisoner. The next day] 500 men were detached to Lesliegunje which they plundered, [burning the Thannah appearing in cutcherries and setting fire to the Tahseel Cutcherry but this building and most of the records were saved from the flames having been extinguished in time after the departure of the rebels by some of the inhabitants of Lesliegunje. On the same day five other villages were destroyed by the rebels.]

[The tahseel police and abkary (artillery) establishments fled from Lesliegunje on the approach of the rebels with some Government treasure and were sheltered and protected by Baboo Seocharan Rae of Nowagurh Jagheerdar of 59 villages, a very loyal and deserving Cheroo Jagheerdar till the arrival] of Lieutenant Graham², sent by me from Ranchi with 60³ men of the Ramghur Infantry. [Lieutenant Graham reached Chainpore on the 7th November and the immediate effect of his command was satisfactory.] The insurgent force broke up and returned to their villages,⁴ [but when they found his escort was numerically so insignificant and that no offensive measures were taken against them, they again assembled in great force⁵] estimated at several thousands and passing close to Chainpore encamped in the neighbourhood. Lieutenant Graham with his small party shut

1. "and committing some murders." Buckland, *op. cit.*

2. Then officiating as Junior Assistant Commissioner in the district Lt. Graham was sent by the Commissioner, Dalton, from Ranchi against the mutineers at Hazaribagh. But a substantial section of Graham's force mutinied on the way and returned to Ranchi. Graham pushed on with the balance of his force (237 officers and men of the battalion and the almost entire light cavalry remained loyal throughout. Bridge, 42.

3. not more than 50. Ibid.

4. The Bogtals retreated into the hills of Sirguja. Buckland. *op. cit.*

5. at first 2000, then 6000.

himself up in the Takoorai's house the defences of which and of the town he had greatly improved and the insurgents on this account or for other reasons did not attack him.¹ They proceeded on to Rajhewa², the station [of the coal company] and attacked and subsequently on the skilful retreat after a gallant defence of the Europeans in charge³ plundered and destroyed the factory. [On the 2nd December the Government Thanas of Monka and Chutterpore were burnt by different parties of insurgents and all the records destroyed.] On the 8th⁴ a European force under command of Major Cotter sent to release Lieutenant Graham, arrived and the rebels dispersed.

[17th. The services of the Europeans could not then be spared for operations in Palamau and Lieutenant Graham had been ordered to fall back with them. He however merely fell back till he met the force of Matchlockmen and Sowars collected and brought] to his assistance by order of Government by the Rajah of Deo [with which he advanced again and took up a portion at Lesliegunje.]

[18th. Lieutenant Graham reached Lesliegunje on the 26th December and for sometime nothing more was heard of the insurgents, and affairs appeared to have taken a favourable turn. The rebels had lost some of their most daring leaders who had been taken and hanged or were in jail and the Cheroos for the most part abandoned their cause.] But during this period as appears from correspondence seized in the Bogtah camp the Chiefs Petumber and Lelumber were endeavouring to obtain assistance (?) from Ummer Singh [and though they

1. Add here the following from the Minute of the Lt. Governor. "It had been proposed to send the Shekawati Battalion into Palamau; but at my urgent request two companies of H. M.'s 13th L. I. which were at this time quartered at Sasaram were directed to proceed under command of Major Cotter to the relief of Lt. Graham. I at the same time called upon the Deo Raja to furnish a contingent for service in the disturbed district. *Ibid.* 119. It is thus difficult to accept the following statement of Kaye and Malleon (IV. 305) that "the presence of two companies of English troops in the rebellious district would have been invaluable..." because the Shekawati Battalion (under Major Forster) did not come at all.

2. A very large body of Bogtachs attacked Rajara (Rajhara) on 27th Nov. *Ibid.*

3. Messrs. Grundy and Malzar.

4. Not in text.

failed in this, a party from the Mirzapore hills joined them, and on the 12th January it was known that they were again assembled in force and several villages were plundered and partly destroyed by them.]

19th. I was at this time advancing with a small force of Madras Sepoys¹ under Major Macdonell and the Bogtaks formed [the bold design of opposing us at a small ghaut enroute. This was frustrated and they were on the 22nd attacked and defeated by the force under Major Macdonell as reported in full at the time.]

20th. [The Jagheerdars noted in the margin* were present at this engagement and I was directed to convey to them the thanks of Government for their services.

*Thakoorae Raghoober Deal Singh of

Hurbhonga Chainpore.

Thakoorae Kishoon Deal Singh of

Runka (Ranka)

Baboo Debie Buksh Singh of

Namoodaug (Namudag)

Deonath Sing Karpurdaz of

Bhuya (Bhaiya)

Bhugwan Deo of Oontaree (Untari)

Koonwar Bheekharee Singh of

Munika (Manka)

Deonarain Singh of Bamindeeh (Bahamundi)]

21st. On arriving at Lesliegunje]² I issued a general notice to all Jageerdars to attend with their followers. [This had the

1. Major Cotter started from Sasaram (27th Nov.) with two companies of His Majesty's 13th light Infantry and with two guns. Accompanied by Mr. Baker, Deputy Magistrate, Sasaram, he crossed the River Sone near Akbarpur (30th Nov.) and reached Shapur on 8th December.

2. He reached Monka on the 21st January, and being joined during the night by Lt. Graham, next morning, after a reconnaissance of the Palamau fort, finding that it was held by the enemy, they determined on an immediate attack and advancing in 3 columns, against which the enemy for some time kept up a brisk but ill directed fire, succeeded in dislodging them, when they fled leaving guns, ammunition, cattle, supplies, and baggage behind them. Ten bodies of the enemy were found, our loss amounted only to one killed and two wounded. Buckland, I. 120.

desired effect.] Numbers who had not previously made their appearance came into camp with their quotas of armed men and amongst them Baboo Bowany Bux Rae,¹ who had on various pretexts previously avoided coming in giving rise to a strong opinion that he was disaffected and meant mischief. [It was certain that many of the Cheroo Jagheerdars who now joined us and were prepared to co-operate against the Bogtahs were not long previously fighting on the other side, but under the circumstances I considered it advisable to accept of their services without in any way pledging myself to pardon those who might eventually be convicted of crimes. This policy pretty well completed the secession of the Cheroos from the Bogtahs alliance and we now only had the latter to deal with.]

[22nd. It is un-necessary for me to enter into the details² of our advance into occupation of the Bogtah country as the operations and their effects have been from time to time duly reported : suffice it to say that] though we did not succeed in capturing the two Bogtah chiefs their strength was destroyed and Palamau has since been quiet.³

[23rd. I considered it necessary to remove Baboo Bowany Bux Rae for a time and made him accompany me back to Ranchi where he now is. Lieutenant Graham has not yet sent me the result of a further enquiry directed by me into the occurrence at Shahpore, now I do not think any overt act of treason will be proved against the Baboo though he must not be allowed to escape the consequence of his not having rendered such assistance to Lieutenant Graham as he was bound to do.]

[24th. A case against Baboo Devie Bux Rae of siding with the Bogtahs is still under investigation. He is not supposed to have given them any active assistance but it is clear that whe-

1. The Commissioner remained at Lesliegunj till the 8th Feb. collecting supplies and making preparations, and he now determined on forcing the passes into the Bogtah country having with him a force of upwards of 2000 men, whilst that of Lilambar and Pitambar were said to be much reduced and ot to number more than 1000. Ibid.

2. On 3rd February, 1858.

3. See Buckland, I. 120-I for details.

ther he countenanced it or not the Bogtaks wished to confer the Raj upon him. Only latterly he did all he could to display his zeal on our side.]

[25th. The other Cheroo Baboo Ram Bux Rae so far as his conduct and that of his son Hari Bux Rae came under my own notice behaved well, but he appears to have some what held back at one time and did not give Lieutenant Graham timely (or such) assistance as from the extent of his Jageer was expected from him. This Baboo and some of his retainers have been accused of complicity in the attack on the Coal factory, and as I have not yet heard the result of the enquiry into this case, I abstain at present from saying about him.]

[26th. Another extensive Jagheerdar, the Bhaya Bhagwan Deo of Ontaree though he latterly attended and supplied a body of matchlockmen who did good service under his karpardaz, appears to have given little assistance to Lieutenant Graham before my arrival and I regret therefore that I cannot more favourably notice him. He holds his estate of 84 villages besides hamlets rent free.]

[27th. Having thus briefly alluded to the leading men of Palamau whose conduct was not on the whole satisfactory, it is with much pleasure that I submit to his Honour the names of a few who from first to last did their duty as vassals of the Government]¹

[28th. I consider that the Takoorais Raggober Dial Singh and Kishoon Dial Sing are entitled to the first place² on this

1. The restoration of complete tranquility and confidence seems now only to be a question of time. Lilambar and Pitambar Sahai are still at large, miserable fugitives deserted by their followers, and the Commissioner is of opinion that no further danger need be apprehended from them. Ibid. 122.

2. The Lt. Governor writes, "I must not quit the subject without recording my high admiration of the conduct of Lt. Graham, who, without another Englishman near him, surrounded by thousands of the enemy, never thought of a retreat, and, by maintaining his post, prevented the district from falling entirely into the hands of the insurgents. I have, in the course of the narrative shown the nature of the services he has rendered, and he is still more usefully employed in the tranquillization of the district." ibid. 122.

list. In regard to their conduct Lieutenant Graham¹ thus expresses himself.

[“I must however particularly mention Tak (Oorai) Kishoon Dial Sing of Ranka and Takoora Raggober Dial Singh of Cheyanpore. The former remained with me from the time I entered the District with some of his men, while another party under his Kurpurdage Ram Pratap Singh attacked parties of the insurgents on several occasions driving them out of land restoring order in the Ranka District. The Takoora Raggober Dial Singh has borne the principal brunt of the disturbances, his property has been plundered in all directions and his servants murdered in several instances. He deserves great credit for the manner in which he held out against the whole of the Bogtaks as well as for the assistance he has wonderfully rendered me and the good will he has exhibited towards Government from the beginning.”]

[I trust from what is stated above that I shall be considered fully justified in proposing that the honorary title of Rae Bahadur be conferred on these two Jagheerdars with suitable Khilats and as a portion of the Khelat, good double barreled English made rifles would be very acceptable to both of them as they are keen sportsmen.]

[In these I propose should it meet the approval of His Honour the Lieutenant Governor and if it be found after a short experiment that he can manage it to confer on Takoora Raggober Dial Singh, the Jaghir of Chemoo Saneya lately belonging to the rebels Pitumber and Lilumber and now confiscated. It

1. “Captain Dalton also mentions approvingly the names of certain Jagirdars. Buckland. I. 123.

Ladi, a village 4 miles s.w. of Daltonganj. It contains the garh of Kuar Ambika Prasad Singh, succeeding his father late Rai Bahadur Amar Dayal Singh, proprietor in 1925.

The family who are Biswen Rajputs claim to be descended from a junior branch of the Manjhauli Raj family of Gorakhpur Dt. and to have come to Palamau in the 2nd half of 18th century where they rendered various services to the Maharajas of Palamau. (*Gaz.* 184)

Manatu a village 36 miles n.e. of Daltonganj on the old “Bihar Cotton Road” to Sherghati. It contains the garh of Babu Paryagjat Singh Mawar Sahib of Manatu.

Manakah a large village, 24 miles from Daltonganj on Ranchi road, (*Gaz.* 186).

was held by them at a quit rent of Rs. 43-11.9. I would give it to Ragoober Dial Singh at the same rent but subject to more stringent conditions in regard to keeping the ghauts clear and protecting travellers passing through. Raghobar Dial Singh has just now taken the estate in force and does not appear to be apprehensive that he will not be able to manage it. The estate nominally consists of 12 villages but it includes also a number of hamlets and Karowah villages but much scattered and separated by hills and jungles.]

29th. Baboo Sewcharan Ray Jaghirdar of Nawagarh [an estate consisting of 59 villages. This is the zemindar referred to above in para 17th as having] protected the Government treasure, records and the native officials who fled from Lesliegunje after the attack on that place [by the insurgents.] He maintained good order in his own villages and gave every required assistance [to Lieutenant Graham and myself. I recommend that he receive a khelat for his services, and such an addition to his Jaghir as will give him about an additional 100 or 150 Rs. of annual income. This may be accorded from forfeited, lapsed or khalsa lands as may eventually be formed with reference to position most expedient.]

30th. Kooar Bickaree Sing of Manika [a petty Jaghirdar but a truly loyal and deserving subject.] He is one of the Cheros Yeomenry [and almost the only one of that class who] from first to last [stood boldly aloof from all conspiracy against Government and who exerted himself in every way to prevent the spread of disorder and disaffection.] He was one of the first to join Lieutenant Graham and the information he gave, was of great service [to that officer. In consequence of this] his house [at Manika] was attacked and burnt and his family only saved [from slaughter by the good officers] of some friendly Coles [who protected them.]

[31st. Not far from Bikarrie Singh's village is the confiscated Jaghir of Raja Sing executed as a leader in this disturbances. It consists of 5 villages paying an annual rent to Government of about Rs. 30. I beg to propose that these villages or so many

of them of such share in them as the Government can dispose of be conferred in Jaghir on Kooar Bikarri Singh in acknowledgement of his loyal services and that in addition a khilat be conferred upon him.]

[32. The undermentioned Jaghirdars are I think well deserving of the thanks of Government for their zealous co-operation with the authorities to restore order in Palamau.]

[Kooar Sewcharan Sing of Ladu (Ladi), Baboo Devi Bux Sing of Nowadag. Deonarain Singh of Bahemendeeh (Bahmundi) Deonath Sing Kurpardaz of the Bhuya of Ontari. Akouri Gauri Charan Ram, Canongo of Chundegeer, Satgowan, Mowar Surrobject Sing of Manatoo.

I have etc.,
Sd. E. T. Dalton.]

A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF BABU KUMAR (KUNWAR) SINGH OF JAGDISHPUR AND HIS FAMILY

By

Vishnu Lal Sastri

I was deputed by Dr. K. K. Datta who is engaged in preparing a comprehensive biography of Kumar, hero of the Bihar phase of the Indian Movement of 1857-59, to trace, if possible, the birth date of Babu Kumar Singh, from the collection of manuscripts of his Guru Pandit Bhiṣiādatta Jhā of Mangarauni in Madhubani Sub-Division, Darbhanga district. In the month of March 1955, I reached Mangarauni and examined 20 bundles of manuscripts in the ms. collection of B. Kṛṣṇamaṇi Jhā, grand-son of Pt. Bhiṣiādatta Jhā and found out 2 fragments written and composed by Pt. Bhiṣiādatta Jhā, containing 42 verses. The names of the sons and grand-sons of B. Sahibzādā Singh of Jagadishpur have been mentioned. The activities of Babu Kumar Singh in 1857 have not been clearly pointed out, but there is an indirect reference to his opposition in the statement that having heard the uproar of battle caused by the action of the English on the earth, Babu Kumar Singh became himself famous on the earth—“हाहाकारं धरणीमध्ये’ श्रुत्वा गोरण्डस्य च लीलाः ।

श्रीमद्वावू कुमरं सिंहस्तस्मिन्मध्ये पृथ्वीख्यातः ॥”

A brief description of Dalipur and Jitaurā is also given. I copied out the verses from the original ms. fragments kept with the owner B. Kṛṣṇamaṇi Jhā of Mangarauni. According to Uḍavantaprakāśa of Chandramauli Miśra, Uḍavanta Singh was the founder of Jagadishpur State. He left his ancestral Kingdom of Ujjain. The Kings of Jagadishpur are descended from Vikramāditya and belonged to the Pamāra Kṣatriya family. The author of Uḍavantaprakāśa composed his work under the patronage of King Uḍavanta, who had four sons—

Gajarāja Singh, Umarāva Singh, Raṇa Singh and Diggā Singh. Rājaguru Pandit Bhiṣiādatta commenced his writing from Udavanta Singh and his son Umarāva Singh, who had one son Sahibzādā Singh. Sahibzādā Singh had four sons—Kumar Singh, Dayāl Singh, Rājapati Singh and Amar Singh.

Kumar Singh had 2 sons—Dalahhañjana Singh and Virabhañjan Singh. Dayāl Singh lived at village Dalipur and had 2 sons—Rūpabhañjan Singh and Gumānabhañjan Singh. Rājapati Singh had only one son Chintāmaṇi Singh. Amar Singh was a man of high learning.

Kumar Singh had constructed a beautiful garden at Jitaurā along with a big mansion. Babu Kumar Singh was adventurous, liberal and well versed in Śāstravidyā.

Pandit Bhiṣiādatta copied out a work on Astrology entitled Chamatkārachintāmaṇi of Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa in Śaka 1766 = 1844 A.D. and Svarodaya of Narapati in Śaka 1797 = 1875 A.D. He copied Śivasamhitā in Fasli san 1283 Sāl = 1876 A. D. at village Jagadishpur. He belonged to the period of the movement of 1857-59 and probably watched it. At the end of the war, Pt. Bhiṣiādatta was put to jail along with his elder step brother Pt. Rukmiṇidatta Jhā at Muzaffarpur on suspicion that they (Pts) being gurus of B. Kumar Singh might have instigated him to wage war against the English for the cause of Religion. But in the absence of adequate proof they were released. Pandit Bhiṣiādatta died in Fasli San 1299 Sāl = 1891 A. D. on the 7th day of white Pauṣa at his native village Mangarauni.

The following verses composed by Rājaguru Pandit Bhiṣiādatta Jhā are given for information. They are in the handwriting of the author both in Devanāgarī and Maithilī characters.

DEVANĀGARĪ

श्रीमदिष्टदेव्यै नमः ।

जगदीशपुरे रम्ये विद्यासिन्धुपदाङ्कितः ।
 वसन्ति सुधियो लोकाः कालज्ञान इव प्रजाः ॥१॥
 ब्राह्मणा वेदनिरताः क्षत्रियाश्च गुणान्विताः ।
 वैश्याश्च वैश्यकर्माणो शूद्राश्च दासकर्मकृत् ॥२॥ इतिग्रामवर्णनम् ॥
 तस्मिन् पुरे महारम्ये क्षत्री वसति धर्मवित्
 राजा सर्वगुणख्याता यशी साहसकृत्सदा ॥३॥
 तस्मिन् पुरे मनोज्ञे वावू श्रीयुत शास्त्रवित् ।
 साहेवजादा सिंहोसौ जगद्गाता सुबुद्धिमान् ॥४॥
 तस्य सुतो गुणयुक्तो विद्यायुक्तः सुशीलश्च ।
 श्री मत्कुमरसिंहः साहसयुक्तः प्रतापी च ॥५॥
 भ्राता तस्य दयालुः सत्पथयुक्तस्तथा विद्वान् ।
 स्वस्तियुतः श्रीमन्तश्च शिक्षायुक्तो यशस्वी च ॥६॥
 तस्य भ्राताभवच्छुद्धो ज्ञानयुक्तस्तथा बुधः ।
 श्रीमद्राजपती सिंहः सुशीलो गुणसंयुतः ॥७॥
 तस्य भ्राताभवद्वीरो तीर्थकार्यरतः सदा ।
 अमरसिंहेति विख्यातो बुद्धियुक्तश्च सज्जनः ॥ ८ ॥
 अथ वावू श्रीकुमार सिंहस्य ॥
 श्रीमद्वावू कुमरसिंहः श्री मद्भगवच्चरणसरोजे ।
 तस्मिन्मध्ये निशि दिननिरतस्तस्य प्रसादाद्धरणीख्यातः ॥९॥
 हाहाकारं धरणीमध्ये श्रुत्वा गोरण्डस्य च लीलाः ।
 श्रीमद्वावू कुमरसिंहस्तस्मिन्मध्ये पृथ्वीख्यातः ॥१०॥
 तस्य सुतो दलभञ्जनसिंहः श्रीमद्गुरुद्विजसेवायुक्तः ।
 तस्य सुतो विरभञ्जन सिंहो भद्रयुतो गुणकीर्तियुतश्च ॥११॥
 विद्यायुक्तस्तथा श्रीभिर्युक्तश्च द्विजपोषकः ।
 परोपकारनिरतः क्रियाशुचियुतस्तथा ॥१२॥
 अथ जितवरा (जितौरा) ग्रामवर्णनम् ॥
 वरः श्रीखण्डतुल्योयं शास्त्रापत्रसमन्वितः ।
 श्रीइन्द्रपुरं तुल्यं जिवरा कथ्यते बुधैः ॥१३॥
 कूपस्योदकसमं गङ्गाजलं तत्र प्रदृश्यते ।
 तडागं सागरं तुल्यं प्रवदन्ति मनीषिणः ॥१४॥

नानाकुसुमसंयुक्ता वाटिका फलशोभिता ।
 प्रासादमतिदिव्यं हि सर्वलक्षण संयुतम् ॥१५५॥
 श्री मत्कुमरसिंह सिंह समताशक्तिः प्रतापस्तस्य ।
 सन्मार्गेनिरतस्तथा बुधजनैः शोभायमानः सदा ॥
 श्रीनारायणपादवृन्दनिरतो धर्मध्वजो वेदविद्-
 विख्यातोपि जगत्त्रये तु महती कीर्तियुतो धर्मवित् ॥१६॥
 दाता साहससंयुक्तः क्रियाशुचियुतस्तथा ।
 कुमरसिंह समो भूपो कुमध्ये न भविष्यति ॥१७॥
 श्रीमत्कुमरसिंहस्त्वं त्वत्समो नास्ति भूतले ।
 कृपायुक्तो दयावन्तो दयां कुरु ममोपरि ॥१८॥
 पितृमातृकयोर्हीनं कर्महीनं च मे सदा ।
 त्वमेव शरणं राजन् कृपां कुरु ममोपरि ॥१९॥
 धनहीनं तथा धर्मकर्महीनं च ये नराः ।
 बुद्धिहीनश्च ये सन्ति तेषां कर्मत्वमीरितम् ॥२०॥

अथ श्रीवावू दयाल सिंहस्य ।

दल्लीपुरे मनोज्ञे वसति च वावू दयालसिंहोयम् ।
 स्वस्तियुतो गुणयुक्तो विद्यायुक्तो यशस्वी च ॥२१॥
 श्री मद्दयालसिंहस्य सुतः पुण्ययुतस्तथा ।
 रिपुभञ्जन इतिख्यातो दाता जगति विश्रुतः ॥२२॥
 श्रीमज्जगदम्बिका प्रसादाद्धनधर्मः प्रभवन्तु हेनूपते ।
 ते शत्रु विलयं सदा धरायां त्वत्कीर्तिः प्रभवन्तु हृष्टचेतः ॥२३॥
 तस्य भ्राता तथा श्रीमान् गुणकीर्तियुतस्तथा ।
 गुमानभञ्जनः ख्यातो धर्मशीलो जितेन्द्रियः ॥२४॥
 गुणिजनहितकारी शत्रुसंहारकारी
 गुरुद्विजजनभक्तः पण्डितश्च कृपालुः ।
 भगवतिपदभक्तः शस्त्रविद्यानुरक्तः
 समर विजययुक्तः सिंहतुल्यो जितः श्री ॥२५॥
 श्री मद्दयालुसिंहश्च दयायुक्तस्तथा बली ।
 परोपकारनिरतस्त्वत्समो नास्ति भूतले ॥२६॥
 श्रीमयाद्गुरुसिंहस्त्वं गुणयुक्तं दयान्वितम् ।
 क्षमावन्तो यशस्वी च दयां कुरु ममोपरि ॥२७॥

परोपकार निरतः कुशलस्त्वं सदामतिः ।
 ममोपरि सदा त्वं हि दयां कुरु सयत्नतः ॥२८॥
 श्रीमदार्याप्रभावेन धर्मकीर्त्तिर्भवन्तु ते ।
 ते शत्रुविलयं यान्तु मित्राणामुदयस्तव ॥२९॥
 श्री राजपतिसिंहस्य पुत्रो जातः स धार्मिकः ।
 श्रीमच्चिन्तामणिख्यातो बुद्धियुक्तस्तथा सुखी ॥३०॥
 श्री अम्बिकाप्रसादेन धर्मकीर्त्तिर्भवन्तु ते ।
 धर्मं भवतु सान्निध्यं वारे वारे सदालयं ॥३१॥
 श्री मदमरसिंहश्च तीर्थं सेवारतस्तदा ।
 शस्त्रविद्यावियुक्तश्च श्रीयुतस्तत्त्ववित्तथा ॥३२॥
 विद्यावन्तथा बुद्धियुक्तश्च बलयुक् सदा ।
 श्री मदमरसिंहस्त्वं दयायुक्तं सदा भव ॥३३॥

MAITHILI

ओं नमो गणेशाय ॥

जगदीशपुरे रम्ये राजोज्जयनसंभवः ।
 पूर्वमासीन्महाराज उदयसिंहसंज्ञकः ॥१॥
 चत्वारस्तत्सुताः सर्वे राजधर्मपरायणाः ।
 श्रीगजराजसिंहस्तज्ज्येष्ठोभूत्पृथिवीपतिः ॥२॥
 तत्सुतस्तु महीपालो लालसाहेवनामकः ।
 तस्यात्मजो महाशूरो राजलक्षणलक्षितः ॥३॥
 भूपनारायणसिंहोपि पुत्रशून्यो दिवंगतः ।
 श्री उमरावसिंहोभूज्ज्येष्ठः श्रेष्ठो महीपतिः ॥४॥
 तस्यात्मजोभूद्भुवि राजगन्ता साहेवजदासिंह समानुमन्ता ।
 शूरो रणे श्रीशपदानुमन्ता जितेन्द्रियः सज्जनतापहन्ता ॥५॥
 चत्वारस्तत्सुताः सर्वे भान्ति दाशरथा इव ।
 महाराजकुमार श्री कुमारसिंहभूपतिः ॥६॥
 राज्यं करोति भूपालः पुत्रपौत्रानुजैः सह ।
 महाराज कुमार श्रीदलभंजनसिंहकः ॥७॥
 तस्यात्मजः सुरतरोरिहन्ता दाता विधाता रणमध्यगन्ता ।
 महाराजकुमारः श्रीवीरभंजनसिंहकः ॥८॥

तत्सूनुः सुकृती क्षितीश्वरकृपापात्रः सुहृत्पालको
नानाशास्त्ररतो महापदयुतो राजान्वितः सुन्दरः ॥
स्वद्राज्यायतकाननोद्यतबलद्वादीन्द्रहस्ती हरिः ।
श्रीमद्राजसुवीरभञ्जननृपः सिंहश्चिरं जीवतु ॥९॥

THEOLOGY AND ETHICS IN KAUTILYAN POLITICAL THOUGHT

By

Dr. Vishwanath Prasad Varma

My work on *Hindu Political Thought and its Metaphysical Foundations* before being published in book form was printed serially in the *Journal of Bihar Research Society* in 1952-1953, in four successive parts. While it was being printed and published in the journal, Dr. U. N. Ghoshal wrote an article in *The Indian Historical Quarterly* (March 1953, pp. 64-71) commenting on some of my conclusions but his criticisms do not appear to me to be valid. In a footnote I have discussed the meaning of "independence of political science" in the context and framework of Western evolution of political ideas and notions.

The fundamental methodological orientation in *Hindu Political Thought and its Metaphysical Foundations* is towards attacking the tendency of interpreting Hindu political thought in the light of advanced and abstract concepts of western political thought. Western political thought in its various aspects is a highly sophisticated, theoretical and systematic type of intellectual enterprise. It has behind it the continuous labour of a large number of great thinkers for about twentyfive thousand years. Hence it is not possible to find that degree of abstract conceptualism, which we find in western political writers, in ancient Hindu political thought which did not advance beyond the stage of aphoristic and pragmatic maxims. Most of the books and papers written on Indian political thought by Indian writers suffer from this basic fallacy that they try to read western political ideas and concepts and theories in the writings of ancient Hindu writers. Hence they believe, for example, that if Aristotle separates politics and ethics, this contribution must also be somehow discovered in India. But the time has now come when *Hindu Political thought must be interpreted in*

its own terms. I am also opposed to the tendency current in some western writers to interpret Hellenic political thought in terms of post-sixteenth century political concepts and I am happy to find that several scholars in the west also take a similar view.

(i) *Theology and Politics in Kautilya*

According to the writer in the *Indian Historical Quarterly* the Arthaśāstra writers emancipated politics from the yoke of theology. I had criticized this view. The emancipation of politics from theology is a stupendous achievement. It is primarily a consequence of the Renaissance in Europe. Even Plato and Aristotle incorporate theological notions in their political thought. The tenth book of the *Republic* discusses theology and eschatology. Some of the principles of theology discussed in Aristotle's *Metaphysics* have been accepted by him in his *Politics*.¹ Machiavelli begins this process of separation of politics and theology. Even Hobbes does not separate entirely the treatment of political and theological considerations. This will be apparent from a study of the third and fourth books of *Leviathan*. Hence the vaunted claim of the emancipation of politics from theology in pre-Mauryan India has to be cautiously considered.

A writer can be credited with having emancipated politics from theology if he is an advocate of materialism, positivism and secularism. *We have to beware of confusing the prescription of ruthless political technics with the repudiation of theology.* Every student of history knows that some of the most cruel and callous and violent technics have been prescribed by writers for obtaining success in the battles waged for victory of theological symbols. It is true that the political technics of Kautilya and Bharaḍvāja are ruthless and relentless but it is absolutely unfounded to argue therefrom that Kautilya rids politics from the yoke of theology. In the first chapter of the *Arthaśāstra* he pays adherence to the fundamental goals and objectives and dogmas of Hindu

1. Vishwanath Prasād Varma, "Aristotle's Methodology of Political Science", *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, June 1955, pp. 106-123.

theology. Moreover, he is a strong adherent of the claims of Brāhman supremacy and every student of Indian sociology knows that the claims of the Brāhmins to superiority are rooted in the theological notion of the *Puruṣa Sūkta*. Machiavelli, it may be noted as a point of contrast, did not sponsor the ecclesiastical pretensions of the clerical fraternity. According to Kauṭilya, the technics and prescriptions of the *Arthaśāstra* are comprehended in the concept of 'Rājadharm' which is supposed to lead to heaven—राज्ञः स्वधर्मः स्वर्गाय. He also says:—तपस्विनां तु कार्याणि त्रैविद्यैः सह कारयेत्. Machiavelli, by contrast, does not advise the prince to take recourse to ecclesiastical ceremonies for the redemption of his soul. Kauṭilya requires the king to do "Pradakṣiṇa" of the cow and the bull (सवत्सां धेनु वृषभं च प्रदक्षिणीकृत्योपस्थानं गच्छेत्). He says that the king is "ऋत्विगाचार्यसखः." The presence of the season-sacrificers shows that the king was to adhere to the Vedic ritualism and theology. Hence the service of Kauṭilya lies not in repudiating theological considerations but in writing a big treatise mainly devoted to the study and analysis of political problems in a comprehensive sense. His strong adherence to the claims and injunctions of Brāhmanical theology is almost self-evident. He says:—

(ब्राह्मणैर्नैषितं क्षेत्रं मन्त्रिमन्त्राभिमन्त्रितम् ।

जयत्यजितमत्यन्तं शास्त्रानुगतशस्त्रितम् ।

(ii) *Ethics and Politics in Kauṭilya*

I never denied that the political and diplomatic technics of Kauṭilya are realistic, calculated and crafty. But the real theoretical problem is—was Kauṭilya aware of having separated politics and ethics. My answer is—definitely not. Aristotle is aware of having separated politics and ethics. (See, the last book of *Nicomachean Ethics*). But nowhere in the *Arthaśāstra* is there any single sentence or verse to prove that Kauṭilya was conscious of having separated politics from ethics. Ethics had not assumed in Hindu thought the theoretically independent character that it did at the hands of western writers.

But Kauṭilya's theoretical unawareness of having separated politics and ethics is not something peculiar. In the Chhândogya Upaniṣad occurs the description of the Pañchâgni Vidyâ. Some of the lines that occur there are revolting to the refined aesthetic sense but what evidence is there to indicate that to the author also they appeared unethical and unaesthetic? Some modern western critics like Winternitz have criticized the defence of Dharmayuddha in the Bhagavadgītâ but to the author of the Gītâ it was a legitimate implication of the traditional theology and sociology. As a matter of fact, the Gītâ condemns the attitude of mendicancy as अनार्यजुष्टतमं स्वर्ग्यमकीर्तिकरम्. It follows that what to a critic advocating different ethical and aesthetic presuppositions may appear unpalatable may be only a logical implication according to the author. My conclusion is that Kauṭilya's policy and technics may appear ruthless and relentless to us but to him they were comprehended in the Dharma of the king.—त्रय्या हि रक्षितो लोकः प्रसीदति न सीदति.

According to his sociology if a person of a different social order, say a Brâhman or a Vaiśya would take recourse to them, then that would be reprehensible because every order has its own Swadharma :—स्वधर्मं संदधानो हि प्रेत्य चेह च नन्दति.

But granting that Kauṭilya is not aware of separating politics and ethics, can we say, in view of his relentless statecraft, that he separates politics and ethics? According to scientific methodology we are required first to state our own ethical presuppositions and assumptions. Modern scientific methodology is oriented to the acceptance of relativism.¹ There is nothing absolutely ethical or nonethical. What is immoral to a Tolstoyan pacifist is legitimate for a Marxist revolutionary. What may be morally repugnant to a Buddhist is the highest norm to an inhabitant of Madagaskar. Hence unless the critic states what his own ethical presuppositions are it is unscientific to condemn others as having eschewed moral considerations. What I am saying is illustrated very well in

1. Maxweber, *Methodology of the Social Sciences*; Felix Kaufmann, *Methodology of the Social Sciences*.

the second canto of the *Bhāṭṭikāvyam* where relativism of Dharmas has been pointed out. What is immoral from the democratic standpoint is only a part of social ethics (*Sittlichkeit*) according to Hegel. Hence ethical relativism and its methodological implications make it imperative that we can only consider some opinion to be unethical from a specific standpoint and belief. There can be no immutable judgment.

There is also another consideration. An advocacy of cruel political diplomacy does not imply that the writer is a critical analyst of the political scene and process. A value-free (*Wertfrei*) political science is only an aspiration. Kauṭilya sketches the fundamentally value-insregnated concept of "Rajarshivaritta." He teaches the virtues of self-restraint. He is a believer in the dominant moral concepts of the Hindu tradition. From the fifth, sixth and seventh chapters of the first book of the *Arthaśāstra* it appears that he is a fundamental believer in the ultimate triumph of the virtues of moral restraint in history. विद्याविनयहेतुरिन्द्रियजयः कार्यः Hence we must never make the mistake of identifying the policy of cruel and ruthless pursuit of political and diplomatic power with the renunciation of moral and valuational considerations on a theoretical plane. Hence I had urged in my book a more philosophic study of the theoretical implications of the methods followed by the ancient writer in their studies of the political phenomena.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

Proceedings of the meeting of the Council of the Bihar Research Society and the K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute held on 3 October, 1955 at 6 p. m. in the Society's Council Room.

Present :—

1. Dr. K. K. Datta, (In the Chair).
2. Shri K. P. Sinha.
3. Dr. T. Chowdhury.
4. Shri S. A. Shere.
5. Shri S. H. Askari.
6. Dr. B. B. Mishra.
7. Shri Sachchidānanda.
8. Dr. B. P. Sinha
9. Shri S. V. Sohoni.

Dr. K. K. Datta was elected to the Chair in the absence of the Vice President, for this meeting.

(1) The proceeding of the meeting of the Council held on the 3rd August 1955 and of the Annual General meeting held on the 8th August 1955 were confirmed.

(2) The following resolution was passed :—

“In the passing away of the late Dr. Amarnath Jha, M. A., Ph. D. D. Lit., F. R. S. L. the Society has lost a great scholar, educationist, and administrator. His death has left a void which it would be very difficult to fill. The Council tender their heart-felt condolence and sympathy to his bereaved family.”

It was further resolved that a copy of this resolution be sent to the members of Dr. A. Jha's family.

(3) The monthly accounts for the months of July and August, 1955 were passed subject to audit.

(b) The following payments were passed subject to audit :—

- (i) Patna Electric Supply Co. Ltd. electric charge for the month of June, 1955 Rs. 79 6 0

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|--|---------------|
| (ii) Indian Nation, Making of block | Rs. 62 5 9 |
| (iii) Annual General Meeting's expenditure | Rs. 250 0 0 |
| (iv) Electric charge for the month of August | Rs. 56 12 9 |
| (v) Swatantra Nava Bhārat Press, Printing of Journal Volume 41(1) | Rs. 2167 13 6 |

(4) The letter dated 9 August, 1955 from Chief Justice Shri S. K. Das, I.C.S. accepting the membership of the Council of the Society was read. It was unanimously resolved that Shri S. K. Das be elected as second Vice President of the Council.

(5) The following persons were elected as ordinary members of the Society :—

(i) Shri Govinda Krishna Pilla proposed by the Jt. Secretary and seconded by the Hony. Treasurer.

(ii) Shri Nivas Pathak proposed by Shri Sitārām Roy and seconded by Shri Harikishore Prasad.

(6). The following Journals were approved for being exchanged with the Society's Journal.

(i) Centre National De La Recherche Scientifique, Paris.

(ii) Ethnographisch Archaologische Forschungen, Hünboldt.

(iii) Our Homage, Sanskrit College, Calcutta.

As regards the Journal Neue Deutsche Hefte, Bertels Mann Verlag Göttingen, Dr. Chowdhury was requested to examine its suitability for purpose of exchange.

(7) Letter No. 1/R-06/55 E 4107 dated the 12th September, 1955 from the Education Department on the subject of the constitution of the K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute was read.

(8) Letter No. 6/53-3/3 dated 22 September, 1955 from the Bihar Academy of Music, Dance and Drama about the Society's representation on its Committee was read. Shri Shere was elected to be the Society's representative of the Academy Council.

(9) The quotation of Remington Rand of India Ltd. amounting to Rs. 46-6-6. was read and approved for repairing

the Society's typewriter. In view of its present condition, it was also resolved that Government be moved to sanction funds for purchasing a new typewriter.

(10) The Honorary Secretary proposed and the Council approved that special number of Society's Journal be brought out, limited to not more than 500 pages, on the occasion of the 2500th Buddha Jayanti celebrations and should be principally devoted to the life of the Buddha and to Buddhistic studies.

S. V. Sohoni

Honorary General Secretary.

Proceedings of the meeting of the Council of the Bihar Research Society held on 2 December 1955 at 6 P. M. in the Society's Council room.

Present.

1. Chief Justice Shri S. K. Das, I. C. S.
(in the Chair).
2. Justice Shri S. G. Mishra.
3. Justice Shri N. Imam.
4. Shri K. P. Sinha.
5. Dr. K. K. Datta.
6. Shri S. A. Shere.
7. Dr. T. Chowdhury.
8. Dr. A. S. Altekar.
9. Dr. D. R. Patil.
10. Sri S. H. Askari.
11. Dr. B. P. Sinha.
12. Shri S. V. Sohoni.

1. The proceedings of the meeting of the Council held on 3 October, 1955 were confirmed.

2. The monthly accounts for September and October, 1955 were passed. It was decided that in future a statement of accounts for every completed quarter be circulated to the members of the Council, and considered at a meeting of the Council next following that quarter.

3. The following persons were elected as ordinary members of the Society :—

(i) Shri Kedarnath, Headmaster, R. C. R. School, Dhorha, Gayā.

(ii) Shri Chandramani Prasad, Student, Department of History, Ranchi College, Ranchi.

(iii) Shri Brajraj Krishna, Student, Department of Sociology, Patna College, Patna.

(iv) Shri Shatrughna Singh, Lecturer, Government Physical College, Patna.

(v) Shrimati Sampati Aryani, M. A., Lecturer, Science, College, Patna.

4. Letter No. 131/55 dated 14 November, 1955 from the Secretary of the Indian History Congress was read ; and it was decided that Dr. Altekar should be requested to represent the Society as a delegate.

5. The letter dated 7 November, 1955 from Prof. Y. D. Ahuja requesting that information regarding research articles dealing with Arabic and Persian language was read ; and it was decided that copies of the letter should be forwarded to Dr. Syed Ahmad, Shri Shere and Shri K. P. Sinha for suitable action.

6. The proposal to bring out a special number of the Society's Journal on the occasion of the Buddha Jayanti Celebrations in May, 1956 was discussed. The following decisions were taken :—

(i) Government should be moved to give a suitable grant for this publication. It was felt that this grant should be at least of an amount of Rs. 15,000/-.

(ii) Every effort should be made to bring out this issue by May, 1956.

(iii) Individual articles should ordinarily be of 4,000 words.

(iv) Subject to the discretion of the Board of Editors, payments should be made to the contributors @ Rs. 10/- per 500 words up to the ceiling of Rs. 80/-. If the Editorial Board consider it necessary, additional payment may also be made.

(v) The list of scholars to whom a reference was proposed to be made in this connexion by the Editorial Board was read. It was decided that in addition a suitable request should also be made throughout the Ministry of External Affairs, for such scholars as live in foreign Countries.

(vi) It was decided that the Editorial Board could make

a selection of articles already printed in the issues of the Society's Journals with a view to reprint such of them in this special issue as are important studies of Buddha and Buddhism.

(vii) It was decided to form a Sub-Committee of the Editorial Board to check proofs consisting of Dr. B. P. Sinha, Dr. T. Chowdhury and Prof. Askari and to co-opt Shri Justice Imam as a member of the Editorial Board who would also serve on this Sub-Committee.

7. The following decisions were taken in connexion with the library of the Society :—

(i) To request the State Government to include a provision of Rs. 1,00,000/- for improving this library, under the Second Five Year Plan.

(ii) To request the State Government to sanction a special grant of Rs. 10,000/- for Expenditure in 1955-56 for purchase of books as the existing grant of Rs.2,500/- was proving quite inadequate.

It was also decided to request the State Government to sanction an amount of Rs. 1,00,000/- for providing additional accomodation to the Research Society.

8. In view of the deterioration in the quality of printing in the Society's Journal, it was decided that the Chief Editor be authorised to negotiate printing of the Journal in the Sanjeevan Press, Patna.

9. The question of providing a dark room to the K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute was discussed. In view of the Government orders taking away from the Council managerial functions relating to the K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, it was decided that a suggestion could be made to the authorities of the Patna Museum to provide a dark room for photographic work of the K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute on the northern verandah of the inner court yard, adjoining the Society's rooms.

10. The question of publishing the corpus of the inscriptions of the Vākātakas compiled by Prof. Mirashi was discussed. It was decided to ascertain whether the Government of India

were publishing this work as a memoir of Archaeological Survey.

S. V. Sohoni

Honorary General Secretary.